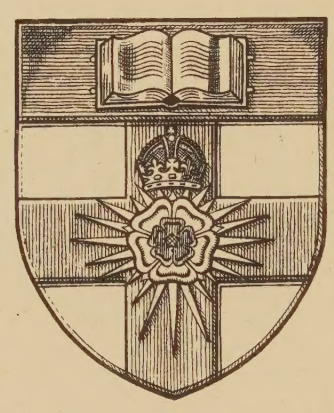
63 Periodicals [British School]



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY

SHL
WITHDRAWN

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Price £2 10s.
(£2 to Subscribers)

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/papers-of-the-british-school-at-rome_1954_22

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOLUME XXII
(NEW SERIES, VOLUME IX)

1954

PUBLISHED BY THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME AT 1, LOWTHER
GARDENS, EXHIBITION ROAD, LONDON, S.W.7

Printed in Great Britain
BY RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

CONTENTS

PAGE

J. G. Baldacchino and J. D. Evans, Prehistoric Tombs near Zebbug, Malta 1

J. B. Hennessy, Excavations at Sphagion in Cyprus 22

B. H. Warmington, The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa 39

R. G. Goodchild, Oasis Forts of *Legio III Augusta* on the Routes to the Fezzan 56

J. B. Ward Perkins, Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica 69

David Oates, Ancient Settlement in the Tripolitanian Gebel, II: The Berber Period 91

D. P. Waley, 'Combined Operations' in Sicily, A.D. 1060–78 . 118

Olwen Brogan, The Camel in Roman Tripolitania 126

Sylvia Benton, The Gorgon Plaque at Syracuse 132

Indexes 139

LIST OF PLATES

Prehistoric Tombs near Zebbug, Malta

PLATE I. Tomb 1.

II. Tombs 1–5: Pottery.

III. Head of Statue-Menhir.

Excavations at Sphagion in Cyprus

PLATE IV. Tomb 17. *a*. Finds in Chamber.
b and *c*. Blocking Stones and Bowl in Dromos.

V. Tombs 18, 19, 20.

VI. *a–c*. Pottery from Tomb 17.
d. Bowl from the Nicholson Museum.

VII. Pottery from Tomb 19.

VIII. Pottery and Glass from Tombs 19 and 20.

IX. Lamps. Glass bottles. Iron knife.

Oasis Forts of *Legio III Augusta*

PLATE X. *a*. Bu Ngem.
b. Gheria el-Garbia.

XI. *a*. Bu Ngem: the North Gate in 1819.
b. Bu Ngem: the East Gate.

XII. Gheria el-Garbia: the North-east Gate.

PLATE XIII. *a*. Gheria el-Garbia, North-east Gate: Interior of Gate-tower.
b. Gheria el-Garbia: North Angle of Fort with Window of Internal Tower.
c. Gheria esh-Shergia: Masonry of North-west Corner.

The Tripolitanian Gebel

PLATE XIV. *a*. Gasr Hamed, from the South.
b. Gasr Hamed, Adjoining Huts.
c. Gasr Haiuna, from the South-east.
d. Gasr Haiuna, Arched Stairway.

XV. *a*. Gasr Maamura, from the North-west.
b. Gasr Maamura, from the East.

XVI. *a*. Gasr Maamura, from the East.
b. Wadi Uaeni, Libyan Tombstone.
c. Gasr Maamura, Carved Bracket.
d. Wadi Gsea, Inscribed Block.

The Camel in Roman Tripolitania

PLATE XVII. *a*. Ghirza: Camel Caravan.
b. Mezgura, Gebel Nefusa: Camel ploughing.

XVIII. *a*. Tigi, Western Gefara: Camel and Oxen ploughing.
b. Tigi, Western Gefara: Ears of Wheat.

The Gorgon Plaque at Syracuse

PLATE XIX. The Gorgon Plaque.

PREHISTORIC TOMBS NEAR ZEBBUG, MALTA

(Plates I–III)

(i) The Tombs and Their Contents

In September, 1947, whilst digging trenches for the laying of the foundations of a building in the field known as 'ta Trapna iz-Zghira', in the parish of Zebbug (Ref. 394228 on the standard 2-inch map of Malta), five early tombs were discovered. The workmen, not appreciating the importance of the discovery, cut a trench 2 feet wide through the middle of two of these burials, thus partially destroying the deposit. Further destruction was prevented by Mr. Ian Small, Civil Engineer of H.M. Dockyard, who stopped the work and reported the discovery to the Museum; and on inspection of the site it immediately became apparent that we were dealing with tombs of a type hitherto unrecorded. The excavation of these remains was conducted with the fullest care to secure adequate records and ensure the recovery of all the archaeological material.

The tombs were five in number, irregularly disposed within an area of 50 sq. yards (Fig. 1). They all exhibited more or less the same features. Each tomb consisted of a saucer-shaped cavity roughly cut in the rock-bed, which at this point is the soft, white, Middle Globigerina Limestone and which underlies about 2 ft. of field soil. The diameter of the tombs averaged about 6 ft., and they attained a depth of about 2 ft. at the centre. A single layer of flat, roughly chipped slabs, derived from the local rock-bed, was used to pave the tomb floor. These slabs, about 4 in. in thickness and 10 in. in width, varied in length from 6 in. to 2 ft. 3 in. Overlying the slabs there was a layer of marl, about 6 in. in thickness, in which were embedded human skeletal remains, mostly in a fragmentary state and in utter disorder.

Intimately associated with the human remains were numerous fragments of pottery, flint implements, and personal ornaments of sea-shell and bone. The whole layer was profusely impregnated with red ochre. Overlying this was a layer consisting almost exclusively of stone chippings, which was about 10 inches deep. The rest of the deposit, 2 ft. 10 in. in thickness, consisted of ordinary red field soil. A thin layer of angular and rounded stones divided this layer at a depth of 1 ft. 6 in. from the surface; below these stones the earth was hard and compact, but above them it was soft and loose.

Tomb No. 1

Somewhat elliptical in shape, measuring 7 ft. 6 in. in maximum length, 5 ft. 9 in. in maximum breadth and 1 ft. 6 in. in depth. It was cut through by a modern trench, 2 ft. 3 in. wide. Only three paving slabs were found in a good state of preservation, the largest of which measured 2 ft. 3 in. in length and an average of 9 in. in breadth; the rest were in an advanced state of disintegration owing to the softness of the rock of which they were made. Orientation of the major axis of the tomb, NNW. Fig. 2, no. 1, and Pl. I, *a* and *b*.

The following objects were recovered from the burial layer:

(a) *Pottery:*

(1) Small cup with large oval strap-handle and omphalos base. Decorated with incised lines. Complete. Ht. 2½ in., max. d. 2⅞ in., mouth d. 2½ in. Fig. 5, no. 3, and Pl. II, *a*, no. 1.

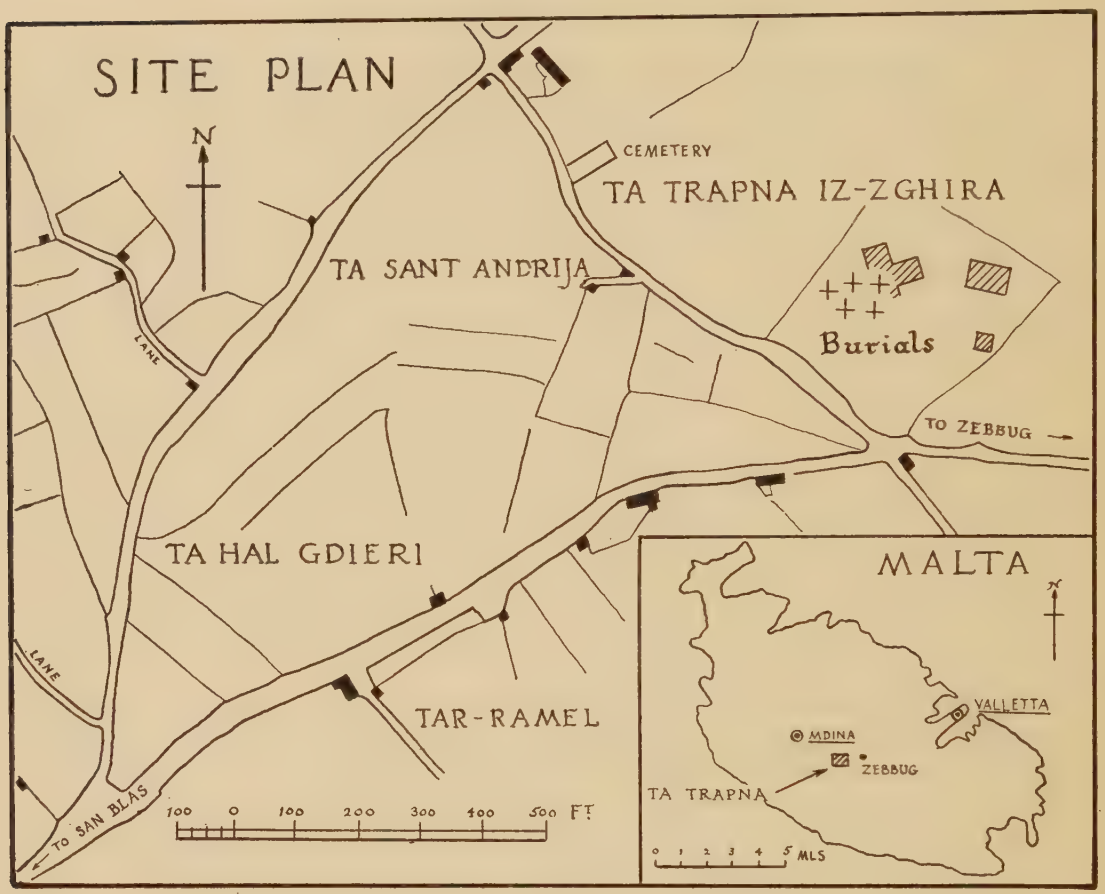


FIG. 1.

(2) Portion of a jar with flat base and inverted tronco-conic body. One horizontally-pierced lug-handle on preserved portion of shoulder. Neck missing. Incised decoration. Reconstructed. Max. d. 7½ in. approx. Fig. 4, no. 3, and Pl. II, *a*, no. 2.

(3) Portion of the body of a similar jar with incised decoration. Reconstructed. Max. d. 4¾ in. approx. Fig. 4, no. 4, and Pl. II, *a*, no. 3.

(4) Large portion of the shoulder and part of the neck of a similar jar. Two opposed horizontally-pierced lug-handles on the shoulder. Incised decoration.

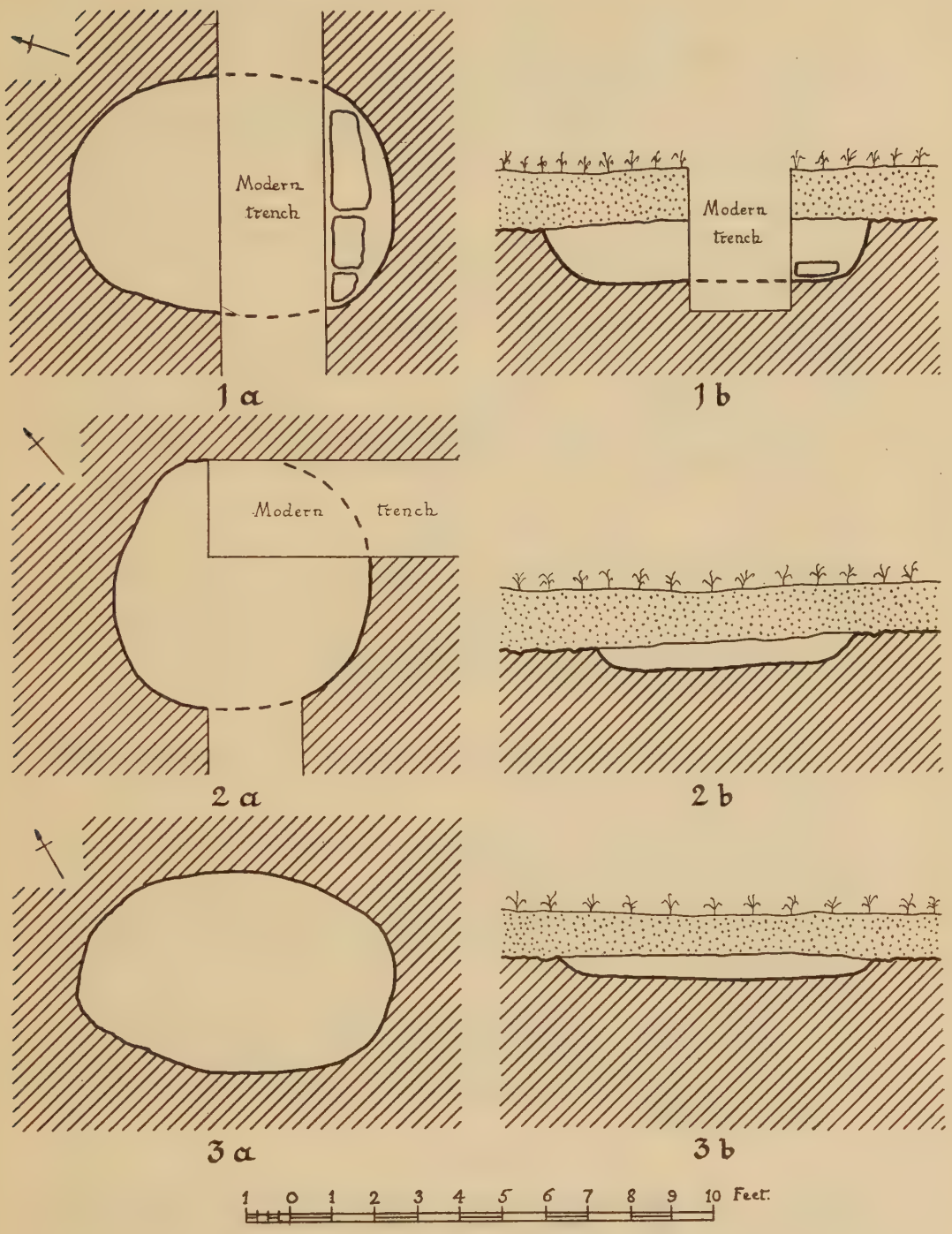

Modern trench
1 a
Modern trench
1 b
Modern trench
2 a
2 b
3 a
3 b
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet.

FIG. 2.

(5) Four large fragments of the bell-shaped necks of similar jars, all decorated with knobs and incised lines. Mouth d. 3¼, 2¾, 3¼, and 2⅜ in. respectively.

(6) Portion of a deep, necked bowl decorated with a number of broad, shallow, cut-out bands. Restored. Mouth d. 6¼ in. Fig. 4, no. 1.

Besides these, a considerable quantity of sherds, mostly of jars like (2)–(5), or of a deep bowl like (6), were recovered. All bore an incised decoration.

(b) *Other finds:*

Flint. One small blade of black flint with triangular section, carefully retouched along both edges. Both ends of the blade have been neatly snapped off. Length 1¼ in., breadth ⅝ in. Fig. 9, no. 1.

Shell. One elongated barrel-bead of *Spondylus* shell with biconical perforation. Length 1⅝ in.

Ochre. Six small lumps of earth heavily impregnated with red ochre.

Bone. The human bones are very fragmentary, but it can be said that they represent the skeletons of at least seven individuals. Of these two are those of young adults, while the rest belong to persons well advanced in years.

Tomb No. 2

Roughly circular in shape with an average diameter of 6 ft. and a depth of 6 in. Its north-eastern corner has been destroyed by a modern trench. A similar trench was dug up to the south-western edge of the tomb without, however, encroaching on the interior. Only small fragments of the paving stones survived. Fig. 2, no. 2.

The following objects were recovered from the burial layer:

(a) *Pottery:*

(1) Portion of a small, flat-bottomed dish decorated with incised lines radiating from a central dimple. Reconstructed. Ht. 1⅝ in., d. 4 in., base d. 1½ in. Fig. 5, no. 1, and Pl. II, *b*, no. 1.

(2) Fragment of the body of a small flat-based jar, similar to those from Tomb No. 1. Decorated with incised lines.

(3) Fragment of a very roughly made, shallow bowl. Undecorated.

The rest of the pottery from this tomb consists of small, badly-decayed sherds which give no clue as to the shapes of the vases to which they belong.

(b) *Other finds:*

Shell. One shell of *Eobania vermiculata* Mull. and one much decayed shell of *Cypraea* sp.

Ochre. Specimens of earth and decomposed soft rock impregnated with red ochre.

Bone. The human bones found are those of an adult, the sex not being determinable from the remains.

Tomb No. 3

Elliptical in shape, measuring 7 ft. 3 in. in maximum length, 4 ft. 9 in. in maximum breadth, and 5 in. in depth. Paving slabs were found but very much disintegrated. Orientation of major axis, NW. Fig. 2, no. 3.

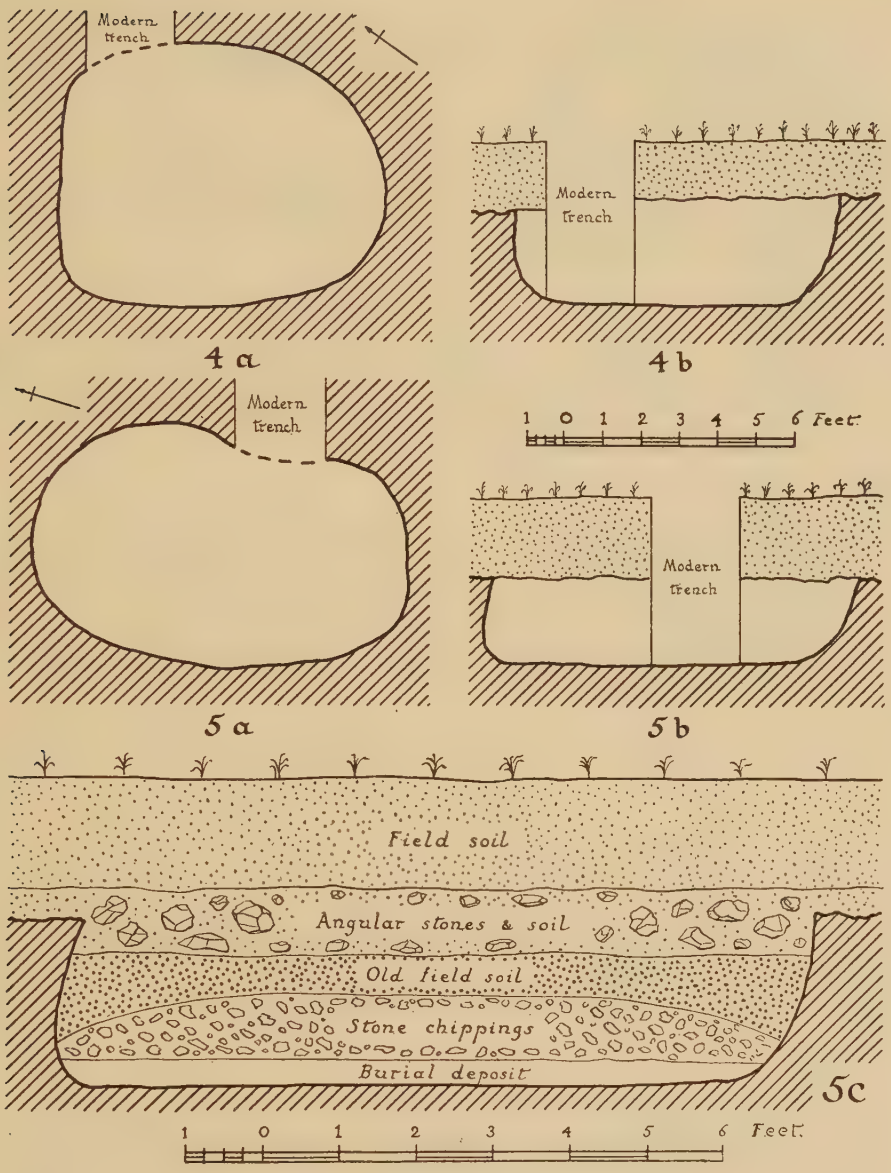

Modern trench
4 a
Modern trench
4 b
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Feet
Modern trench
5 a
Modern trench
5 b
Field soil
Angular stones & soil
Old field soil
Stone chippings
Burial deposit
5c
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Feet

FIG. 3.

The following objects were recovered from the burial layer:

(a) *Pottery:*

(1) Flat-bottomed dish with simple decoration of incised lines. The surface of the ware, where it survives, is well-polished, originally grey in colour but now deeply stained with red ochre. Reconstructed. Ht. 2½ in., d. 6⅛ in., base d. 2¾ in. Fig. 5, no. 2, and Pl. II, *b*, no. 2.

(2) Horizontally-pierced lug, of the type used on bell-necked jars.

All the rest of the pottery recovered was in small fragments. Some of these are portions of the rims or the flat bases of bell-necked jars, but the majority are too small to show anything of a profile.

(b) *Other finds:*

Stone. Portion of a bowl made from a piece of the local soft Globigerina Limestone. The exterior is very rough, though the base has been flattened to enable the vessel to stand firmly. The interior, on the other hand, has been hollowed out and finished with some care. Internal d. 4¾ in.

Shell:

(1) Two shells of *Cypraea* sp., one having a deep groove at the anterior end of the aperture evidently to facilitate suspension. The second has a small hole at the same point, but it is not clear whether this is artificial or not.

(2) One elongated barrel-bead cut from *Spondylus* shell with biconical perforation. This object is in bad condition, the outer surface being much decayed, so that it is now almost shapeless.

Bone. The human remains are too few and fragmentary for determination.

Tomb No. 4

More or less oval in shape, but flattened on the NW. end, measuring 8 ft. 3 in. in maximum length, 6 ft. 9 in. in maximum breadth, and 2 ft. 9 in. in depth. A modern trench was excavated up to the NE. side of the tomb without, however, disturbing the burial deposit. As in the other tombs, very little remained of the original paving stones. Orientation of major axis NW. Fig. 3, no. 4.

The following objects were recovered from the burial layer:

(a) *Pottery:*

(1) Portion of the body, with two horizontally-pierced lug-handles on the shoulder, of a large bell-necked jar. The upper part of the shoulder and the neck are missing. The ware is very much decayed with damp, but traces of an incised decoration are still visible. Partially reconstructed. Max. d. 7½ in. approx. Pl. II, *c*, no. 1.

(2) Lower part of the body of a cup with omphalos base, like that from Tomb No. 1. The place of attachment of a similar strap-handle is still visible, though the handle itself has been broken off. Traces of an incised decoration remain. The vessel has evidently at some time been filled with red ochre, and the whole interior

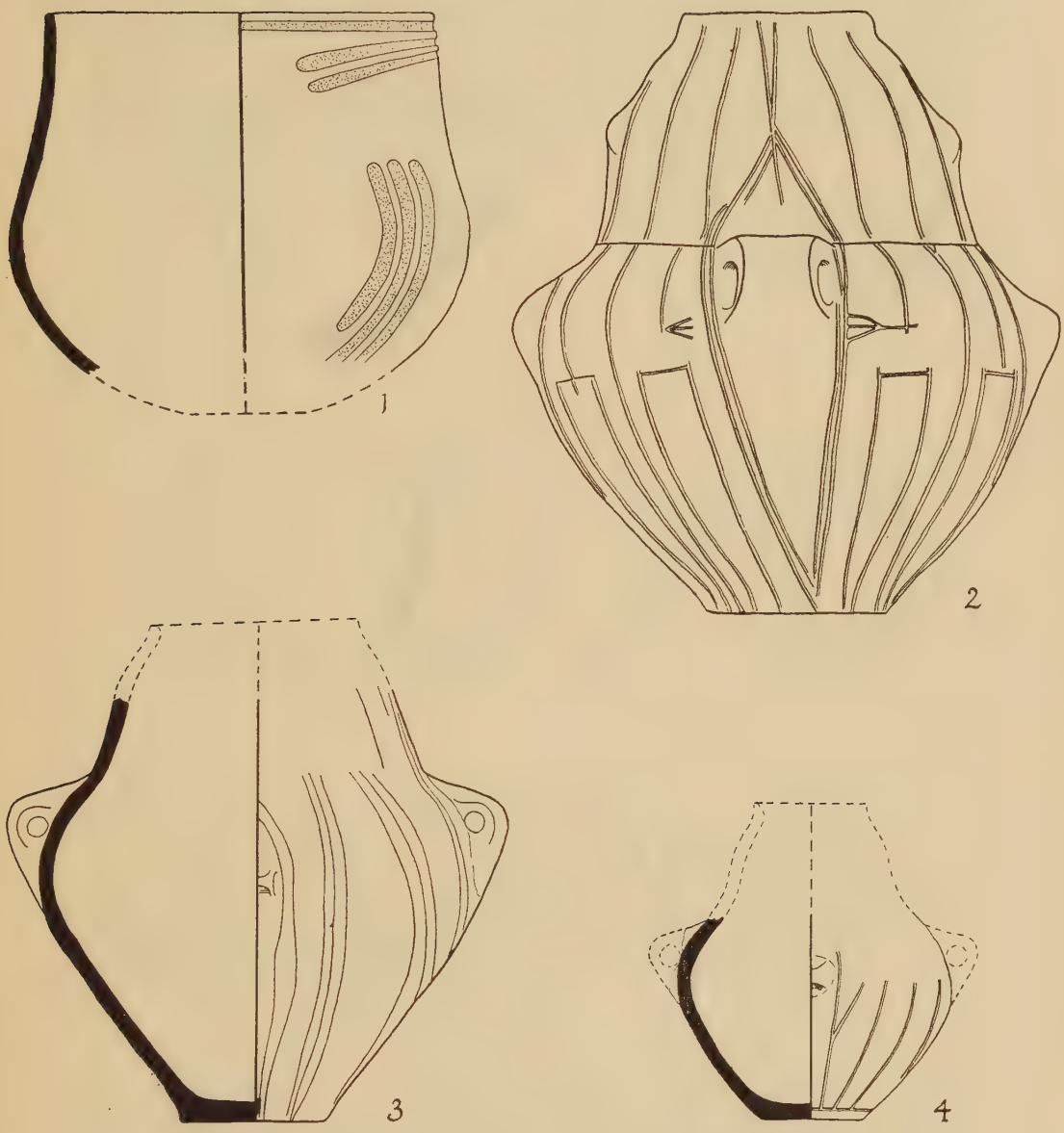


FIG. 4.—1. TOMB 1, No. 6. 2. BALDACCHINO COLLECTION, FINDSPOT UNKNOWN (p. 18). 3. TOMB 1, No. 2. 4. TOMB 1, No. 3.

surface is still thickly encrusted with the remains of this. No measurements possible.

(3) Portion showing profile of a similar cup, with part of handle preserved. Mouth d. 3 in.

(4) Small jar, with depressed globular body and wide, flaring neck. On the shoulder two small, opposed, horizontally-pierced lugs and two knobs, each

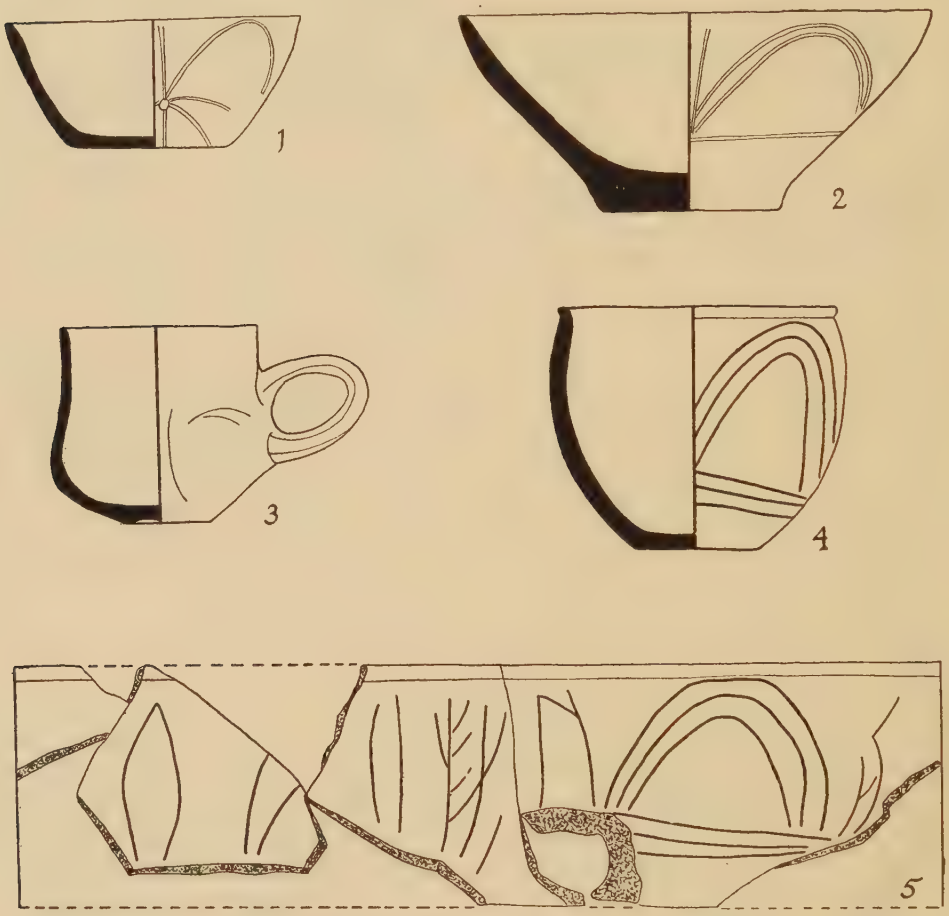


FIG. 5.—1. TOMB 2, NO. 1. 2. TOMB 3, NO. 1. 3. TOMB 1, NO. 1. 4–5. TOMB 5, NO. 2.

with a depression on either side to imitate the piercing of the lugs. Reconstructed. Mouth d. 2 in.

(5) Sherd of flat base, probably of a large bell-necked jar. Incised decoration. Base d. $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

(6) Three sherds of rims and one horizontally-pierced lug of bell-necked jars. Mouth d. $4\frac{3}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and 3 in. respectively.

(7) Six fragments of the necks and bodies of deep, necked bowls. Three of these

show portions of a strap-handle which joins neck and shoulder. Five of the fragments comprise portions of the rim of the vessel. Decorated with incised lines. Mouth d. 7, 9½, 6¼, 8¾, and 6¼ in. respectively. Fig. 6, nos. 1–3.

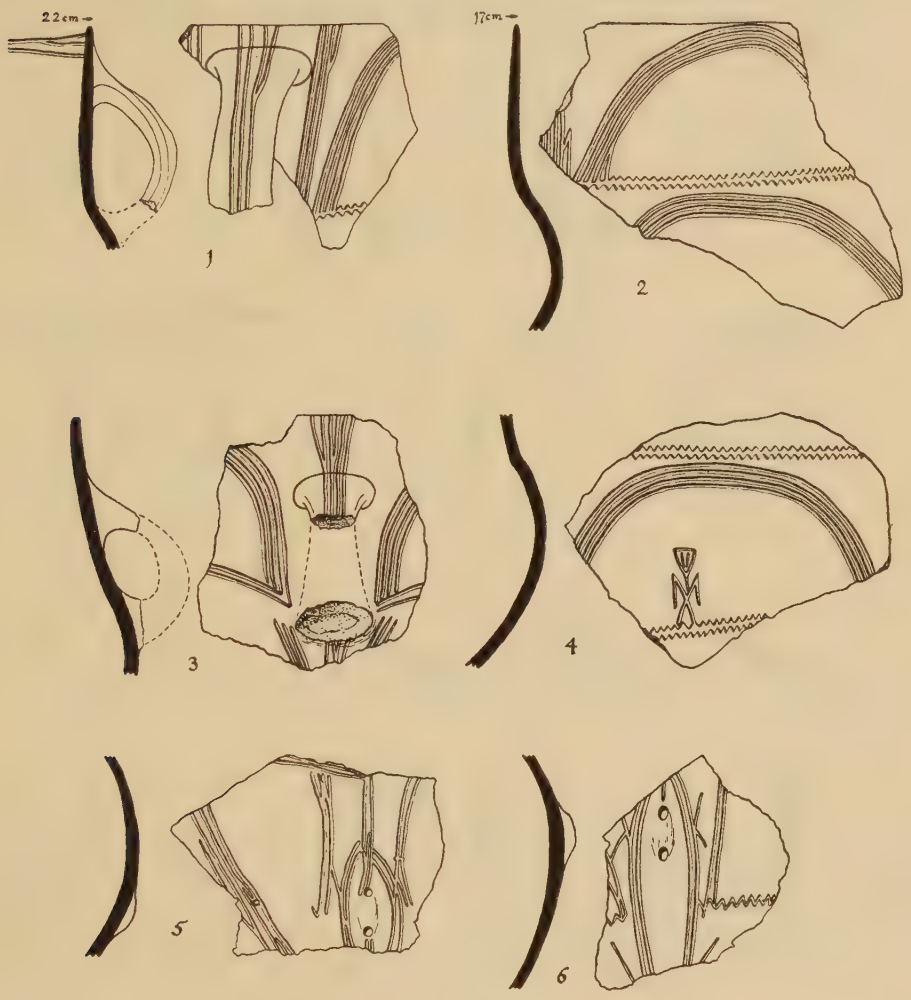


FIG. 6.—1–3. TOMB 4, NO. 7. 4. TOMB 4, NO. 8. 5–6. TOMB 5, NO. 5.

(8) Large fragment of the body of a large bowl, similar to those just described. The incised decoration is similar to that of the rest, except that it includes a small highly schematised human figure. Ht. 1¼ in. Fig. 6, no. 4.

(9) A much smaller fragment, perhaps of a similar bowl, incised with an almost identical though slightly smaller figure. The ware is very much decayed. Fig. 7, no. 10.

A large quantity of pottery was recovered from this tomb. So far as can be seen, it consists entirely of sherds of bowls and jars of the types described above.

(b) *Other finds:*

Flint. Two small flint blades with trapezoidal section.

One is of dark brown translucent material with an extremely fine retouch along one edge only. The blade has been snapped off sharply at each end. Length 1⅝ in. Fig. 9, no. 4.

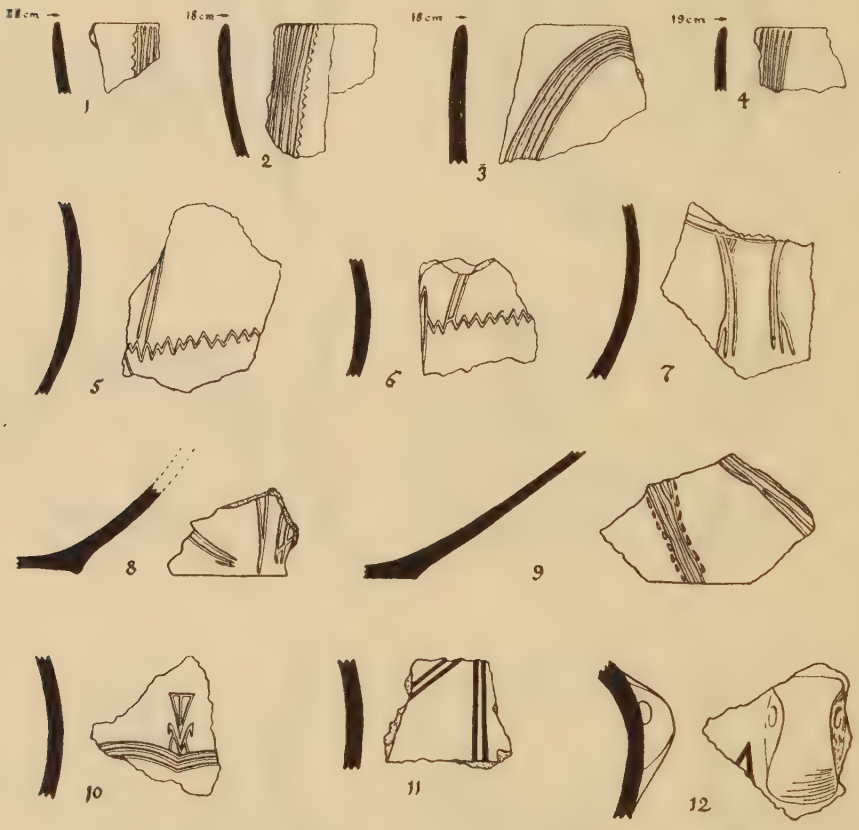


FIG. 7.—1–4. TOMB 4. 5–6. TOMB 5. 7. TOMB 5, NO. 8. 8–9. TOMB 5, NO. 4. 10. TOMB 4, NO. 9. 11–12. TOMB 5, NO. 9.

The other is of coarse-grained, greyish flint. The width of the blade narrows, and it curves over towards one end. Both edges are trimmed with a steep retouch. It is broken off at both ends. Length 1⅝ in. Fig. 9, no. 3.

Shell:

(1) Seven barrel-beads cut from *Spondylus* shell, varying in length from ½ to 1 in. The shortest is also the broadest, having a diameter of ⅜ in. All have a biconical perforation and are stained with red ochre. One in particular is thickly incrusted with this substance all over the exterior. Three of these are illustrated in Fig. 8, nos. 1–3.

(2) Seven shells of *Dentalium rubescens* Desh.
(3) One valve of *Pectunculus glycimeris* L., pierced at the umbo for suspension.
(4) Twenty-six shells of *Eobania vermiculata* Mull. Only a few are stained with red ochre.
(5) Thirteen shells of *Rumina decollata* L. None have traces of red ochre.
(6) Six shells of *Helix aperta* Born. No traces of red ochre.

Ochre. Specimen of earth impregnated with red ochre.

Bone:

(1) Human remains of at least two adults were found, but on account of the condition of the bones it was not possible to determine the sex.

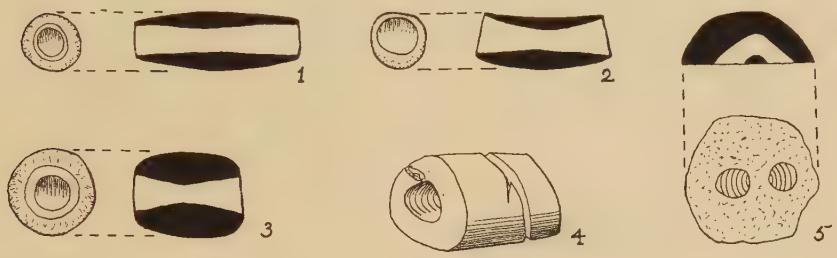


FIG. 8.—1–3, TOMB 4. 4–5. TOMB 5.

(2) Remains of two goats or sheep. These bones, in contrast to the human ones and to the rest of the material from the tombs, show no traces of impregnation with red ochre, so that they may be of a later date and intrusive into the deposit.

Tomb No. 5

Kidney-shaped, measuring 9 ft. 8 in. in maximum length, from 5 ft. 4 in. to 6 ft. in breadth and 2 ft. 3 in. in depth. A modern trench was cut up to the east side of the tomb without extending into the interior. The paving stones were so much disintegrated that almost all traces of them had disappeared; their original presence was, however, established by a thin deposit of fine whitish earth lying below the burial deposit. Orientation of major axis, NNW. Fig. 3, no. 5.

The following objects were recovered from the burial layer:

(a) *Pottery:*

(1) Portion of a vase, showing an inverted conical body, rounded shoulder, and broad flaring neck. The lower body and base are missing. Remains of an irregular but elaborate incised decoration can be seen. Conjecturally reconstructed. Max. d. 7¾ in. approx. Mouth d. 7 in. approx. Pl. II, *c*, 2.
(2) Portion of a miniature pot with bead-rim, ovoid body, and small flat base. Decorated with a number of deeply incised lines, the scheme of which cannot be made out. Reconstructed. Ht. 1½ in. Mouth d. 1¾ in. Fig. 5, nos. 4 and 5.

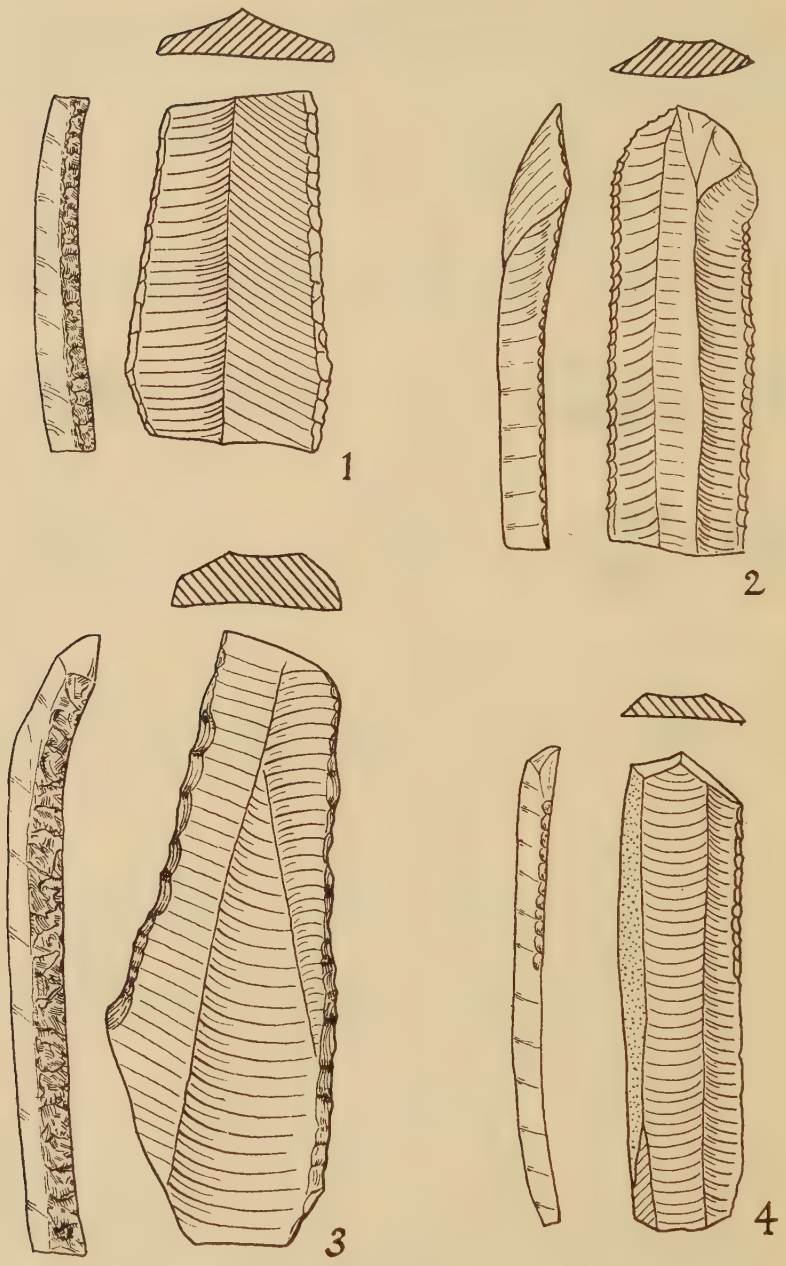


FIG. 9.—1. TOMB 1. 2. TOMB 5. 3–4. TOMB 4.

(3) Five fragments of the rims of bell-necked jars with incised decoration. Mouth d. 4, 3, 3, 2¾, and 3½ in. respectively.
(4) Three fragments of the flat bases of jars. All have incised decoration, in one case bordered with lines of dots. Fig. 7, nos. 8 and 9.
(5) Five large fragments of the bodies of bell-necked jars. Two have a horizontally-pierced lug-handle. The remaining three have each a knob in which, in two cases, two circular depressions have been made, to imitate the appearance of a pierced lug. Fig. 6, nos. 5 and 6.
(6) Eight fragments of the rims and shoulders of necked bowls, all with the usual incised decoration. Mouth d. 9½, 6¾, 7, 7½, 8½, 7, 8, and 10 in. respectively.
(7) Two fragments of strap-handles, to one of which a fragment of the rim still adheres, showing it to have been attached to this. Both have incised decorations, and the second is notched along the edges.
(8) Sherd with an unusual incised decoration resembling two hanging arms ending in three-fingered hands. Fig. 7, no. 7.
(9) Four sherds of grey ware with a light buff surface, one of them with a horizontally-pierced lug-handle. All four are decorated with thin double lines of red paint. Fig. 7, nos. 11 and 12.

There is a large mass of pottery from this tomb in the form of small sherds, belonging mostly to bell-necked jars and bowls of the type described.

Other finds:

Flint. One small blade of fine-grained grey flint with trapezoidal section, trimmed along both edges with an extremely fine retouch. It is broken off sharply at one end, while the other is carefully rounded. Length 1½ in. Fig. 9, no. 2.

Stone:

(1) Head of a statue-menhir made of the yellowish, compact variety of Lower Globigerina Limestone. It is damaged on the upper left-hand side, especially at the back, and shows an irregular break at the base where the rest of the block has been broken off. The edges of the block are rounded off and it is well finished on both sides. The face is in slight relief and outlined by a deep groove, and the same is true of the nose, which is the only prominent feature. Eyes and nostrils are indicated by pairs of small holes, and the mouth by a deeper conical drilling. Mouth and chin are connected by a vertical groove. The groove outlining the face is joined at the top by another, which runs horizontally round the sides and back of the head. A larger, vertical groove runs down the middle of the back. There is a slight trace of what appears to be the right shoulder where the stone is broken off below. The whole surface of the stone, especially the face, is stained with red ochre. These stains of red ochre also appear on the two scars, especially that of the main break, thus showing that this object was already broken when it entered the deposit. Max. ht. 7¾ in., max. breadth 7 in., max. depth 3¼ in. Pl. III.
(2) A fragment of Globigerina Limestone, evidently worked and representing part of a shallow vessel. The exterior wall is rounded and the base flattened some-

what in the manner of a quern, the interior being hollowed into a shallow depression. Length 10 in., ht. 2¼ in.

(3) Small flattened pebble with well-rounded edges, but no traces of human workmanship. Max. d. 1½ in.

Shell:

(1) Hemispherical button cut from *Spondylus* shell, with a V-shaped perforation on the flat underside. Breadth ¾ in., ht. ¼ in. Fig. 8, no. 5.
(2) Two valves of *Dosinia exoleta* L., each having a small hole pierced in the umbo for suspension.
(3) Two *Cypraea* shells, one broken and one nearly complete. The latter has a hole at the anterior end of the aperture deliberately made for the purpose of suspension.
(4) Twenty-three shells of *Eobania vermiculata* Mull., mostly stained with traces of red ochre.
(5) Five shells of *Helicella Caruanae* Kob., with no traces of ochre.
(6) Three shells of *Helix aperta* Born., one having slight traces of ochre.
(7) Five shells of *Rumina decollata* L., one only having traces of red ochre.
(8) One shell of *Iberus Melitensis* Fer., with traces of ochre.
(9) Three shells, one complete and two broken, of *Cassis sulcosa* Brug.; all are stained with red ochre, and one of the broken ones is full of it.

Ochre. A number of large and small cakes of earth saturated with red ochre.

Bone:

(1) Very fragmentary human remains of a single individual. The person was an adult, but the sex could not be determined.
(2) Remains of a goat or sheep, and of an ox. Again it is possible that these are intrusive, since they are not stained with red ochre.
(3) Part of a long bone rubbed and polished for use as a bead, the medullary canal being used for suspension. It is divided into two segments by an incised line carefully cut at one point parallel to both ends. Length ¾ in., max. breadth ½ in. Fig. 8, no. 4.

The homogeneity of the material found in each of them proves these graves to have all belonged to the same period. Since the pottery is clearly of the type distinguished by Mr. J. D. Evans as his Period $1a_2$,* the tombs as a whole may be assigned to this phase. Tomb 1, however, contained a pot (Fig. 4, no. 1) decorated with broad cut-out bands; this is characteristic of the preceding phase, and may indicate that this tomb was in use slightly earlier than the others.

From the invariable incompleteness of the pots recovered from these tombs it may be inferred that part of the burial deposits had been destroyed at some earlier date. This might have taken place when the area was first converted into an arable field. Further support for this idea may be gleaned from the extreme shallowness of Tombs Nos. 2 and 3, and the great poverty of the material obtained from them. The tombs may all

* See p. 21, n. 17.

originally have had the form of the well-tomb at Bukana excavated by Sir Temi Zammit in November, 1910, which contained some sherds of the Zebbug type.[1]

Acknowledgements

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to Mr. C. G. Zammit for his help in the field and for preparing the photographs and drawings with which this article is illustrated, and to Mr. J. D. Evans for his many helpful suggestions in the course of preparing it.

J. G. Baldacchino

(ii) The Significance of the Finds

The five prehistoric tombs described with their contents above constitute by far the most important group of early burials so far recorded in the Maltese islands. Tomb 5, as can easily be seen from the lists of finds, was the richest and most important, closely followed by Tombs 4 and 1. Very little was left of Tombs 2 and 3, and their yield was correspondingly poor.

It was immediately recognised that the pottery from these tombs differed entirely from that normally regarded as representing the earliest period of the islands' prehistory. Stronger still was the contrast with the types of ceramic current during the later prehistoric phases, from the Tarxien cremation-cemetery and the Borg in-Nadur and Bahria sites. The primitive appearance of the Zebbug pottery, which accorded well with that of the remainder of the tomb-furniture, suggested that here was an earlier stage of culture than anything hitherto recognised in the islands. New research on the prehistoric material from Malta and Gozo has substantially confirmed this surmise, and it can now be said with confidence that these tombs represent an earlier, more primitive phase of the culture well known from the finds in the Tarxien temples and at Hal Saflieni.

The pottery in the tombs was found in a very fragmentary condition; the small cup from Tomb 1 was the only vessel to emerge intact. Many of the sherds are small, and the ware is almost invariably much decayed, often to such an extent that it crumbles away in the hand. This decay is probably due to the continual seepage through the tombs of water from the field-soil above. The better-preserved pieces are seen to be made of a compact grey ware mixed with small white grits, which is covered with a fine, well-polished slip. The surface is generally somewhat mottled, and may vary in colour from light grey to almost black. The pieces are almost invariably decorated with lines deeply incised after the application of the slip.

The most common shapes found are two. The first is a jar with a singular bell-shaped neck and inverted pear-shaped body (Fig. 4, nos. 3 and 4). On the shoulder are two opposed horizontally-pierced lug-handles, and between these are two smaller lugs or decorative knobs dimpled to imitate lugs. On the neck are generally two further small knobs standing directly above the first pair. It is a strange, but dignified and impressive form of vase, and examples occur in every tomb. The second type of vase is a deep, bag-shaped bowl with a broad, only slightly constricted neck. A number of large sherds of

[1] *Ant. Journ.* viii, 1928, p. 481.

such vases show that they were often fitted with at least one thin, broad strap-handle connecting the neck and shoulder (Fig. 6, nos. 1 and 3). Remains of these bowls were found in Tombs 1, 4, and 5.

A less-common shape was the small, deep cup with omphalos base and large, oval strap-handle, of which a complete example was found in Tomb 1 (Fig. 5, no. 3, and Pl. II, *a*, no. 1). Fragmentary remains of two similar ones were extracted from Tomb 4, making three examples in all. The flat-based dish with inverted conical body was also represented in two tombs, Nos. 2 and 3 (Fig. 5, nos. 1 and 2, and Pl. II, *b*, nos. 1 and 2). From Tomb 5 came fragments of a tiny bead-rimmed pot with an ovoid body and flat base (Fig. 5, nos. 4 and 5). Other shapes represented by one example only are a shallow, roughly-made bowl from Tomb 2, of which we have only one sherd, and a tall jar with flaring neck from Tomb 5. This latter is a somewhat conjectural reconstruction from a few fragments. It is evident that the range of forms is severely limited, and of those recognised only two are at all frequent.

With the exception of the bowl-fragment from Tomb 2, all the sherds of any size show traces of decoration. The motifs are generally rather elaborate, but only rarely are the fragments sufficiently large for the arrangement to be made out. The decoration is generally based on groups of from two to four parallel lines. The single line and groups of more than four are sometimes used, but they are not the norm. These groups of lines may be bordered by rows of dots (Fig. 7, no. 9), or, more frequently, by rows of small cut-out triangles with their bases resting on the outermost lines of the group (Fig. 7, nos. 1 and 2). On the necked bowls two rows of these triangles are sometimes cut base-to-base to accentuate the division between neck and body (Fig. 6, nos. 1, 2, and 4). The necked bowl from Tomb 1 (Fig. 4, no. 1) is unique in having a decoration of broad, shallow cut-out bands instead of the usual deep lines. The form of this bowl also looks somewhat more primitive than that of the other necked bowls.

Groups of verticals are often broken up by a curious motif like two flails laid across each other. When repeated several times it gives the verticals something of a 'Cornstalk' appearance. Another curious feature of the decorative style of the Zebbug pottery is the frequent occurrence of one or more irregular incised lines running round the interior of the mouths of vases just below the rim. The rims themselves are sometimes milled.

The following motifs are recognisable in the normal decoration: semicircles, with a tendency sometimes to take on a rather ogival form (Fig. 6, nos. 1–4, Fig. 7, no. 3), simple zig-zag lines (Fig. 6, no. 6, Fig. 7, nos. 5 and 6), horizontal bands formed by arcs of circles set end to end (Fig. 7, no. 10), and blocks of vertical lines narrowing towards the lower end (Fig. 7, nos. 1, 2, and 4). Some fragments of jars are decorated with lines forming inverted isosceles triangles with the apex resting on the base of the vase. Besides these simple geometric motifs, however, there are numerous more complicated arrangements of lines which are not so easily described, and the significance of which will be discussed below.

A broad, but rather thin and fragile type of strap-handle is used on the cups and bowls (Fig. 5, no. 3, and Fig. 6, nos. 1 and 3), but far more common are various types of lugs and lug-handles. These are seen in their greatest variety on the jars, which have a number of different types on the neck and shoulders, viz. large horizontal lug-handles, smaller horizontally- or vertically-pierced knob-lugs, and finally unpierced knobs. The

latter may be elongated either horizontally or vertically, and may or may not be decorated with dimples at either end to imitate the pierced lugs (Fig. 6, nos. 5 and 6).

Though some of these lugs have a distinct practical use, they also constitute an important decorative feature, since the more complicated incised patterns referred to above are built up around them. The lug-handles, with their slightly bevelled edges, seem to have suggested a pair of eyes, and the idea came of strengthening this by means of a crude arrangement of lines to suggest the rest of the figure. Only such a supposition can make this type of decoration intelligible to us. The feeling once aroused, it was carried over to the small knob-lugs, and even to the unpierced lugs, which are often provided with dimples to play their part more effectively. Finally, pairs of dimples may occur on a pot independently of the existence of a knob or lug, simply as a nodal point for decoration.

The anthropomorphic decoration is extremely abstract and schematised. Usually the head and body are indicated as fused together and almond-shaped, the outline being given by pairs of lines. Arms are indicated by pairs of lines or by single lines, and generally end in three-fingered 'hands'. Legs are never indicated (Fig. 4, no. 2, and Fig. 6, nos. 5 and 6). So far as can be seen, this type of decoration is confined to the jars. On two fragments of necked bowls, however, there appears a tiny human figure, schematised in an entirely different way. These have a triangular head and no body to speak of. Two crossed flails represent, in the one case arms and legs, in the other arms alone, the legs being added separately (Fig. 6, no. 4 and Fig. 7, no. 10).

The pottery of the Zebbug tombs is by no means such an isolated phenomenon as was at first thought. Wares of a similar type with similar, often identical, decoration, can be recognised among the material from almost all the temple-sites excavated. It is however, abundant only on sites such as Mgarr and Kordin I and III, where there are buildings of primitive form, having, that is to say, a trefoil or clover-leaf plan. In temples with a more developed plan, and in the large complexes where there is evidence of frequent rebuilding and extension, pottery of the Zebbug type is rare. The bulk of the ceramic material found in them is made up of the well-known wares with pitted, studded, scratched, or scale decoration. The Zebbug pottery would therefore seem to belong to an earlier and more primitive culture-complex than that characterised by the fine ceramics and exquisite spiral and animal designs in stone and paint found at Tarxien and Hal Saflieni.

There is, however, a noticeable difference between the pottery of Zebbug type from the temples and that from the tombs themselves, which is expressed both in the shapes and in the decoration. In the tombs the range of shapes is very restricted, and about three-quarters of the fragments seem to belong to bell-necked jars. In the temples, on the other hand, shapes are varied, and in particular various types of cups and shallow bowls are common. Bell-necked jars are comparatively rare, though other types of jar are present. Corresponding to the rarity of the bell-necked jars is the rarity of the anthropomorphic decoration, though it is faintly adumbrated on a few vases.

This difference between the tomb and temple finds is emphasised by the existence in Malta, though mostly dispersed in private collections throughout the island, of a fine series of complete bell-necked jars. No information exists as to their finding, but their very completeness, with the fact that the surface is in every case stained and incrusted with red ochre, seems to indicate that they must have come from a tomb, or series of

tombs, like the ones under discussion, but in all probability better preserved. One of the finest of these jars, from the collection of Dr. Baldacchino, is illustrated in Fig. 4, no. 2. This series of jars helped considerably in reconstructing the fragments from Zebbug, and also in understanding the general scheme of the decoration. From them it is clear, for instance, that there were two distinct types of decoration in use for the jars, one predominantly curvilinear, with much use of semicircles and ogival curves, the other (rather commoner) predominantly rectilinear, based on vertical lines and inverted triangles. It is with the latter decoration that the anthropomorphic elements are associated. The jar illustrated (Fig. 4, no. 2) is a good example of the rectilinear style, with the anthropomorphic features.

Parallels are not easy to find abroad for this peculiar and distinctive type of pottery-decoration. However, it is possible to trace certain significant affinities between it and some of the post-Stentinello pottery of Sicily, which is grouped together under the general title of the San Cono–Piano Notaro culture. Among the features common to both are the general arrangement of the decoration, based on from two to four parallel lines, the border of dots, and the occurrence of wavy lines and of bands filled with rows of dots. Single dimples used as a nodal point for decoration are a feature of both wares (Fig. 5, no. 1, and Pl. II, *b*, no. 1).

The similarities extend to certain of the shapes also. The Zebbug tombs themselves, however, provide very little illustration of this, since the shapes are so limited, and the main one, the bell-necked jar, appears to be unknown outside Malta. However, the small ovoid jar with bead-rim from Tomb 5 (Fig. 5, nos. 4 and 5) can be paralleled in the material from Piano Notaro,[2] and the flat-bottomed dishes from Tombs 2 and 3 can also be paralleled among material from the same phase. Turning to the material of similar style from the Maltese temples, we find that the shallow bowls, particularly an example from Kordin III, can again be closely paralleled at Piano Notaro.[3] A type of strap-handle with concave section, which is set on the rim of a cup of some sort, and which is common at Mgarr,[4] has exact parallels from the Grotta Zubbia in Sicily.[5] Finally, the shouldered bowl with a high strap-handle from Piano Notaro [6] has an almost identical counterpart at Kordin III.

While it can scarcely be claimed that either of these cultures was the originator of the other, it may fairly be said that the affinities between them are such as to indicate contemporaneity and a certain amount of mutual influence. The origin of the post-Stentinello phase in Sicily remains obscure, though there appears to be some basic connection with the earlier phases. However, the decorative style shows much less cohesion and organic unity than that of the Zebbug type in Malta, and in particular the anthropomorphic elements are missing in Sicily. It seems possible, therefore, that the affinities may be due mainly to influence exerted from the Maltese side, but until a great deal more work has been carried out in both areas it would be unsafe to dogmatise on this point.

Before leaving the discussion of the pottery it will be necessary to say a few words

[2] Orsi, *Bull. Pal. It.*, xxxiv, 1908, pl. III, 5. Pl. III, 11 however, is much closer to a form current in the later Tarxien phase (Period Ic).

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. IV, 2 and p. 127, fig. B.

[4] There is also one from Tomb 5 at Zebbug. See p. 13 (Tomb 5), No. 7.

[5] Orsi, *Bull. Pal. It.*, xlviii, 1928, pp. 58–61. Unfortunately no illustrations of the material are included in this note on the exploration of the cave. The handles mentioned were seen in the Syracuse Museum.

[6] Orsi, *Bull. Pal. It.*, xxxiv, 1908, pl. III, 4.

about the problem of Maltese red-on-buff painted pottery. The chronological position of this has been settled once for all by the finding in Tomb 5 at Zebbug of four small painted sherds (Fig. 7, nos. 11 and 12), identical in every way with those from the other sites. This painted pottery is not to be confused with the small quantity of painted ware found at the Hypogeum, Borg in-Nadur, and Bahria, which is much later and was probably made under Mycenean influence. It was found at Kordin III and Santa Verna, but the bulk of it comes from Mgarr.[7] A careful study of the sherds of this early painted fabric shows that the motifs used conform closely to those incised on wares of the normal Zebbug type. Some fragments also possess lugs of the usual Zebbug types. Finally, at Mgarr there are numerous sherds of a light-faced ware, identical in shapes and decoration with the normal dark-faced Zebbug wares, though in colour and in the coarser quality of the paste and firing they compare with the painted ware. The significance of this small quantity of painted pottery escapes us at present, though it seems most likely that it is the product of a faint and belated influence of the Neolithic painted-ware cultures of South Italy on the Maltese islands.

The Zebbug tombs provide us with the only instance so far in Malta in which the non-ceramic aspects of a culture can be with certainty related to a particular type of pottery. Some of these non-pottery objects are themselves of great significance, and may lead us to important conclusions, especially when considered together with the pottery.

The remains of the stone and flint industries, with one notable exception, are not of great importance. There are two fragments of limestone vessels and four small flint blades. All of these are finely retouched to a greater or lesser extent, and one (Fig. 9, no. 2) is masterly in its workmanship. The smallness of the blades invites comparison with the flints from the San Cono tomb, but the working on the Maltese implements is finer, whereas arrow-heads, so numerous at San Cono, are completely absent.[8]

More important for comparisons are the shell beads and pendants, in particular a number of barrel-beads of *Spondylus* shell. Alone, these would be insufficient to warrant any conclusion, but from Tomb 5 comes a small domical button with V-perforation and an object which is evidently the head of a variety of statue-menhir (Pl. III). These two objects taken together, in conjunction with the anthropomorphic elements of the pottery-decoration are, I think, sufficient to enable us to assign the Zebbug tombs to a definite phase in the wider development of Western Mediterranean prehistory. In this development the culture which they represent may have played a very significant role.

Buttons with V-perforation made of various substances, such as shell, bone, jet, amber, and even tin, make their appearance in Central and Western Europe at a definite moment, which coincides with the appearance of a number of other well-characterised elements, and generally with the first industrial use of copper. They are found in Danubian III in Central Europe, and in the Mediterranean in the Los Millares, Palmella, Remedello–Rinaldone, and Anghelu Ruju cultures. In South France they are associated with the spread of the complex assigned to Chalcolithic II.[9] Pottery of Beaker type occurs in all the cultures mentioned, and V-perforated buttons are found

[7] Ashby, *Excavations in Malta*, 1908–11, figs. 6 and 25, show the fragments from Kordin III and Santa Verna respectively. Zammit, *Bulletin of the Valletta Museum*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 25, fig. 17, illustrates some specimens of painted wares from Mgarr.

[8] For the San Cono flint industry see Orsi, *Bull. Pal. It.*, xxv, 1899, pl. V.

[9] For this sequence see J. Hawkes, *Arch. Journ.*, xcv, 1938, pp. 126–173 and V. G. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation*, 5th ed., 1950, pp. 293 ff.

associated with beakers in other cultural contexts. Statue-menhirs seem to form a part of the same cultural horizon. In South France one is re-used as the lintel of a corbelled megalithic tomb.[10] Some North Italian examples are armed with a triangular midrib dagger clearly of Remedello type (an object specifically associated with V-perforated buttons at Monte Bradoni).[11] In Spain and Portugal they belong to the complexes that produced the elaborately-decorated bone and schist idols, with which they have many features in common—that is to the complexes of Los Millares and Palmella and their equivalents.

The nature of the anthropomorphic decoration of the Zebbug pottery leaves no doubt of its connection with the weirder forms of megalithic art in the West. The 'expressionist' technique and phantasmagoric suggestion of the style often achieves a weird and uncanny effect, and its virtual limitation to the bell-necked jars makes one suspect a specifically funerary intention. The two curious schematised figures on fragments of necked bowls (Fig. 6, no. 4, and Fig. 7, no. 10) are in a somewhat different style, but even this is distinctly reminiscent of the figures in some of the metal-age rock-paintings of Spain and South France.

The Zebbug statue-menhir is unfortunately broken off at the neck, so that the evidence of whatever arms or ornaments may have been carved on the lower part is lost to us. However, it is perhaps worth noting in passing that some of the French statue-menhirs have necklaces, the principal feature of which is a large barrel bead in the centre, similar in shape to the shell ones from Zebbug. The carving of the face of the Zebbug statue-menhir differs in a number of ways from that of the Spanish, French, and Italian ones. One fundamental point is that it is carved in slight relief instead of being cut back into the stone in the manner of the majority of the Western examples.[12] A more significant difference, however, is the indication of the mouth by a conical drill-hole, with a vertical groove joining it to the base of the chin. On the Western statue-menhirs the mouth is normally not indicated at all; the method of indicating it by a dot and line is well known on the pottery plank-idols of Cyprus, though in their case the line generally runs upward to join the nose. These plank-idols are themselves very closely paralleled by the flat schist idols of South-western Spain and Portugal.[13] Perhaps it would not be too rash to suggest that we have here in Malta a link in the chain of connection, one which may be further elucidated by future discoveries.

There remains to be considered what may be gleaned from the form of the tombs about the external relations of the Zebbug culture. Only two tombs of the San Cono culture are known in Sicily, that of San Cono itself and one other. It is noteworthy, however, that when found these presented the same aspect as those of Zebbug—namely a more or less circular hollow scooped out of the soft rock. It has already been remarked in Part I that the curious form of the Zebbug tombs might well be due to the destruction of the rock in which the upper part of the tomb was worked. This might also have been the case with the Sicilian examples, which were in any case further mutilated by their chance finders.[14] The original form might have been either a chamber tomb or a well-tomb. In Malta scanty remains of pottery of the Zebbug type were found mixed with

[10] Childe, *op. cit.*, p. 301.
[11] Colini, *Bull. Pal. It.*, xxv, 1899, p. 301.
[12] Observation made by Dr. R. Battaglia in a letter to Dr. Baldacchino.
[13] Already remarked on by B. Saez Martin in *Actas y Memorias de la Soc. Esp. de A. E. P.*, 1944, pp. 134 ff.
[14] Orsi, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

later pottery in a well-shaped tomb at Buqana, Attard, in 1910,[15] but pottery of the immediately succeeding phase has occasionally been found in simple chamber tombs.[16]

To sum up the significance of the Zebbug tombs, we may say that the pottery from them seems to fit into the sequence of Maltese ceramics between the last pottery of Stentinello tradition and the first of the wares with scratched and red-incrusted decoration, which culminate in the series from Tarxien, Saflieni, etc.[17] It shows marked similarities to the material of the San Cono phase in Sicily, with which it can be considered to be contemporary. Certain features of the pottery-decoration, and some of the non-ceramic finds, enable us to find analogies farther afield and to relate the culture to those of Palmella, Los Millares I, Chalcolithic II of South France, Remedello, early Anghelu Ruju, and so to the earliest phase of the Beaker expansion in the West Mediterranean. If we may take it that all these cultures were in progress by about the middle of the nineteenth century B.C., then it seems likely that the Zebbug culture must also have been flourishing at about that time. Furthermore, if we allow that certain features, such as the V-perforated buttons, triangular midrib daggers, and statue-menhirs, are ultimately of East Mediterranean derivation, we may propose a date slightly earlier than that of any of these for the inception of the Zebbug phase in the Maltese islands.

J. D. Evans

[15] Zammit, *Ant. Journ.*, viii, 1928, pl. LXXVI, fig. 1.

[16] E.g., Nadur (Zammit, *op. cit.*, p. 482); probably also Busbizija (*Valletta Museum Annual Report*, 1928–9, p. IV), but this was damaged. The North Cave at Ggantija (*ibid.*, 1949–50) seems to have been a crudely cut chamber tomb. This was used as a dump for pottery from the neighbouring temple, but a few fragments of Zebbug ware may represent the remains of the original burial.

[17] For the Maltese pottery-sequence referred to above see J. D. Evans, 'The Prehistoric Culture-Sequence in the Maltese Archipelago,' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, xix, pt. 1, pp. 41–94. Thanks are due to the Prehistoric Society for loan of the blocks for figs. 5 and 6 of the present article.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPHAGION IN CYPRUS

(Plates IV–IX)

The Site (Figs. 1, 2)

The Cemetery at Sphagion was excavated during the last week of August 1951, under the auspices of the Ashmolean Museum–Sydney University expedition to Cyprus [1] with the aid of funds contributed jointly by the University of Sydney and the Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne, which now possesses the finds allotted to the expedition by the Department of Antiquities. Tomb 17 is in the Cyprus Museum. The University of Sydney has made a generous grant towards the cost of illustration.

The site at Sphagion (so called because of a nearby slaughter-house) lies on the outskirts of the village of Myrtou (Kyrenia District) in North-west Cyprus (fig. 1). It is situated immediately to the North of the main Myrtou–Nicosia road, within a few metres of the 20-mile post from Nicosia. The narrow, flat tract of land, now used for the cultivation of vines and olives, has a shallow surface soil overlying the soft white limestone into which the graves were cut. The land [2] belongs to Eleni Hadji Sophokli of the village of Myrtou.

Several large tombs, both to the north and south of the roadway in this area, had been previously opened, and village reports were of a Late Bronze Age–Iron Age cemetery. Four small tombs, three of which contained funerary offerings, were excavated (fig. 2).

The tombs were numbered 17–20, to follow on the tomb-numbers of the excavations in the Middle–Late Bronze Age cemetery at Stephania, which were in progress at the same time.

Tomb 17

	Length	*Width*	*Depth*
Dromos	1·85 m.	0·85 m.	0·70 m.
Chamber	2·20 m.	0·50 m.	

Shape (fig. 3). The dromos was rectangular, with sides sloping slightly in towards the bottom, and opened on the south side into a narrow, shallow grave. The blocking

[1] Thanks are due to the Directors, Miss Joan du Plat Taylor and Miss Veronica Seton Williams, and members of the expedition for help during excavation, in particular to Mr. G. R. H. Wright, who bore much of the work of surveying, drawing of tomb-plans, and photography, and to Mr. Tryphon Koulermos for his unceasing efforts and guidance as foreman on this excavation. Mrs. Hector Catling and Miss Linda Melton supervised the initial cleaning and cataloguing of the finds. The drawings of pottery from Tombs 19 and 20 were made by Mrs. J. R. Stewart of the University of Sydney; those of Tomb 17 by Mr. Elia Markou of the Cyprus Museum. The pottery of Tomb 17 was photographed by Miss Nancy Lord. I am much indebted to Professor A. D. Trendall and to Mr. J. R. Stewart of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney for constant encouragement during the course of excavation, and for guidance and criticism during the preparations for publication.

The following publications are cited in abbreviated form:

Ayios Ermoyenis—George H. McFadden, 'A tomb of the necropolis of Ayios Ermoyenis at Kurion', *American Journal of Archaeology* l (1946), pp. 449 ff.

QDAP—Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine.

SCE—Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931.

Schörgendorfer—August Schörgendorfer, *Die Römerzeitliche Keramik der Ostenalpenländer* (Wien, 1942).

Soli—A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli* (Stockholm, 1936).

[2] Land Registry Office Map. Plan XI, 35 E; 36 N. Plot No. 24.

stones which covered the entire south face of the dromos were in place. The chamber, which opened from the south side of the dromos, was roughly rectangular with rounded ends. The outer face of the chamber had been commenced in the dromos floor a short distance in front of the inner face of the dromos itself, so that the stones blocking the division between the dromos and the chamber had to be placed at an angle in order to

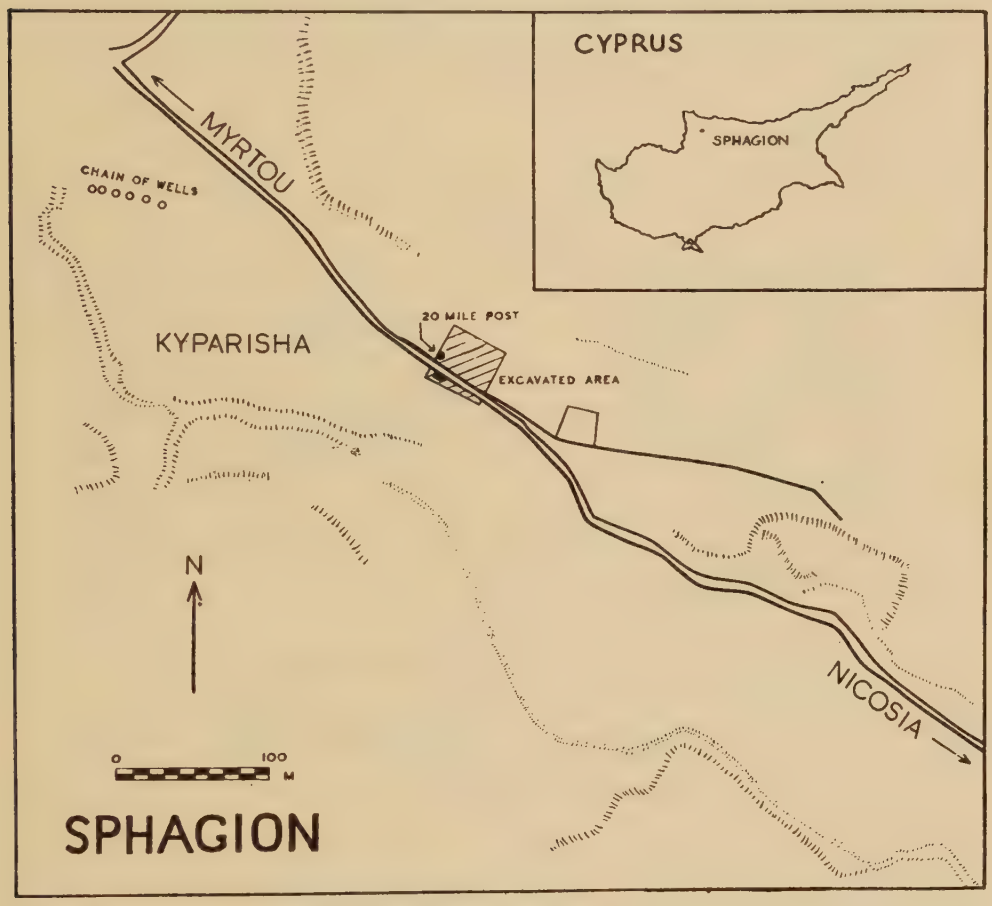


FIG. 1.

cover the long and exposed entrance to the chamber. The shape of the whole tomb appears to be most unusual and seems to have no published parallel in Cypriot tomb-architecture; the general form gives the impression of an attempt to compromise between a normal Cypriot chamber-tomb and a shaft-grave covered over with stone slabs.

Dromos (pl. IV, *b*). Stratum I consisted only of surface soil, which occupied a small part of the upper portion of the dromos as a result of surface erosion. Stratum II, which comprised the fill of the major part of the dromos up to above the level of the stones

blocking the entrance to the chamber, was composed of soft decayed rock fragments mixed with pink gravel earth and was consistent over the whole relevant area and depth (fig. 3).

A few nondescript sherds occurred within this fill. The blocking stones were rough rocks piled up against the southern side of the dromos. A small two-handled bowl, used as a final offering, lay against the blocking stones on the outside (pl. IV, *c*).

Chamber (pl. IV, *a*). The burial deposit was covered by a deep layer of loose soft rock

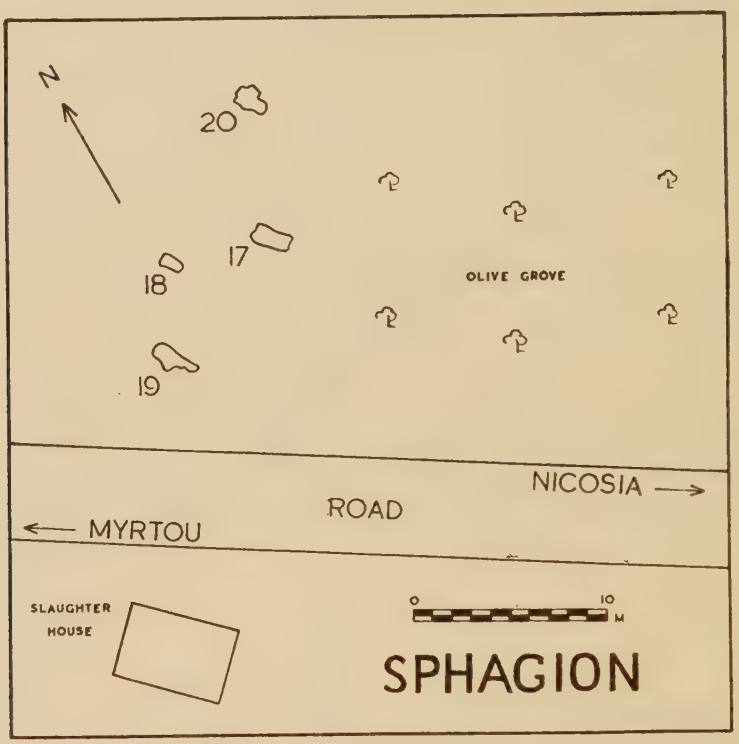


FIG. 2.

fall and pink silt. The skeleton, which was largely decomposed, lay upon its back, fully extended, with the head facing the South-east. Two small glass bottles were found beside the skull. A large Plain White jug, a lamp, and a narrow jug with a red slip completed the offerings.

Finds (pls. VI and IX; fig. 4)

Dromos

1. Matt Black Ware (wheelmade) bowl. Ring base; vertical sides rising from sharp carination above base; two lightly fluted vertical loop-handles from just below rim to carination; grooves just below rim and on the carination. Extremely well-mixed clay with a few small grits, fired pink. Slipped thinly and smoothed on exterior and interior. Dull black slip. Intact. Maximum height, 6·8 cm.; overall width, 15·2 cm.: diameter of rim, 10·8 cm. (pl. VI, *c*; fig. 4, 1).

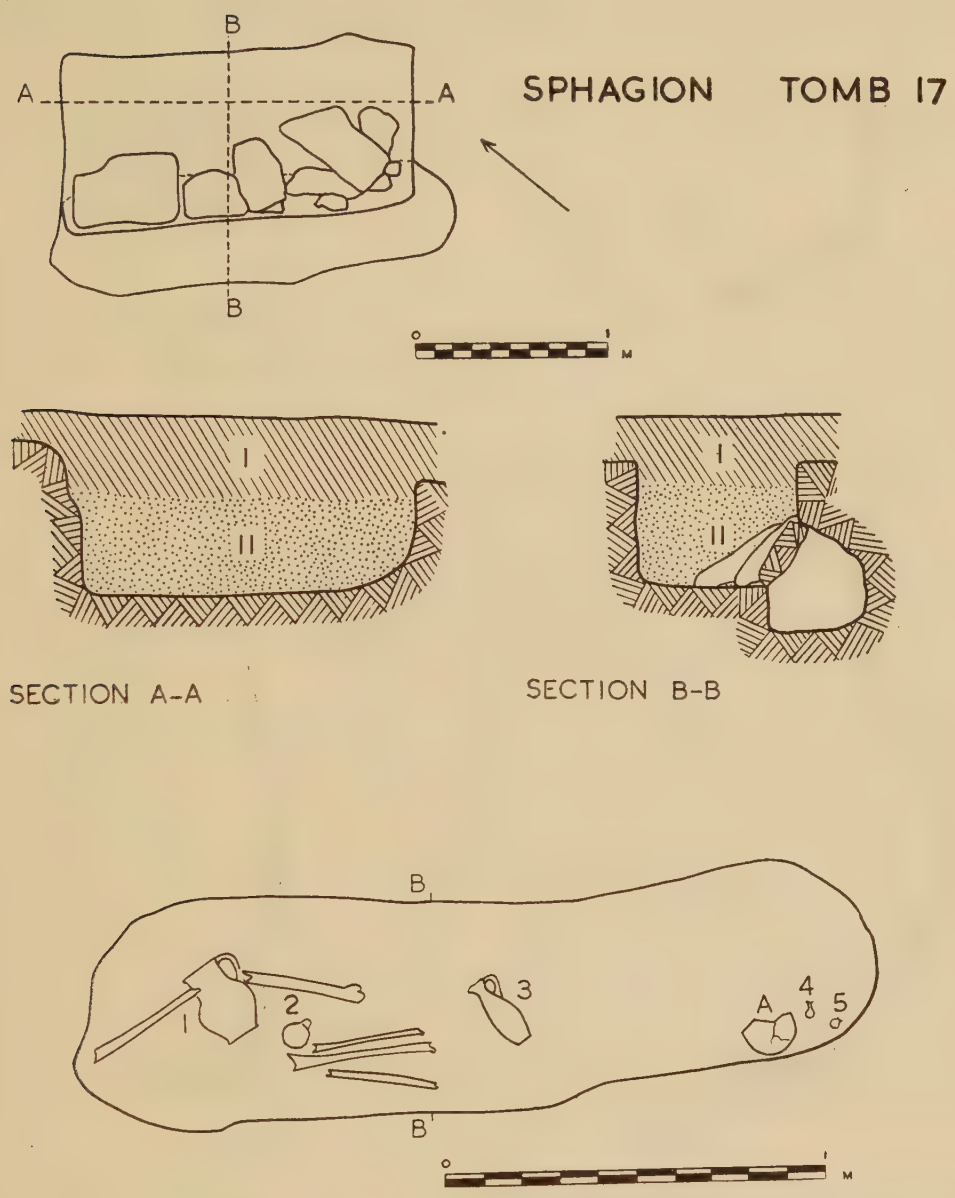

B
A
A
SPHAGION TOMB 17
B
0
1 M
I
II
I
II
SECTION A-A
SECTION B-B
B
1
2
3
A
4
5
B
0
1 M

FIG. 3.

Chamber

1. Plain White Ware (wheelmade) jug. Ring base; broad, sharply curved body; wide neck; round mouth with everted rim; handle, with oval section, from rim to shoulder. Extremely well-mixed clay with sandy grog, fired pinkish-buff. Wet-smoothed surface or thin self-slip, not polished. Pinkish buff

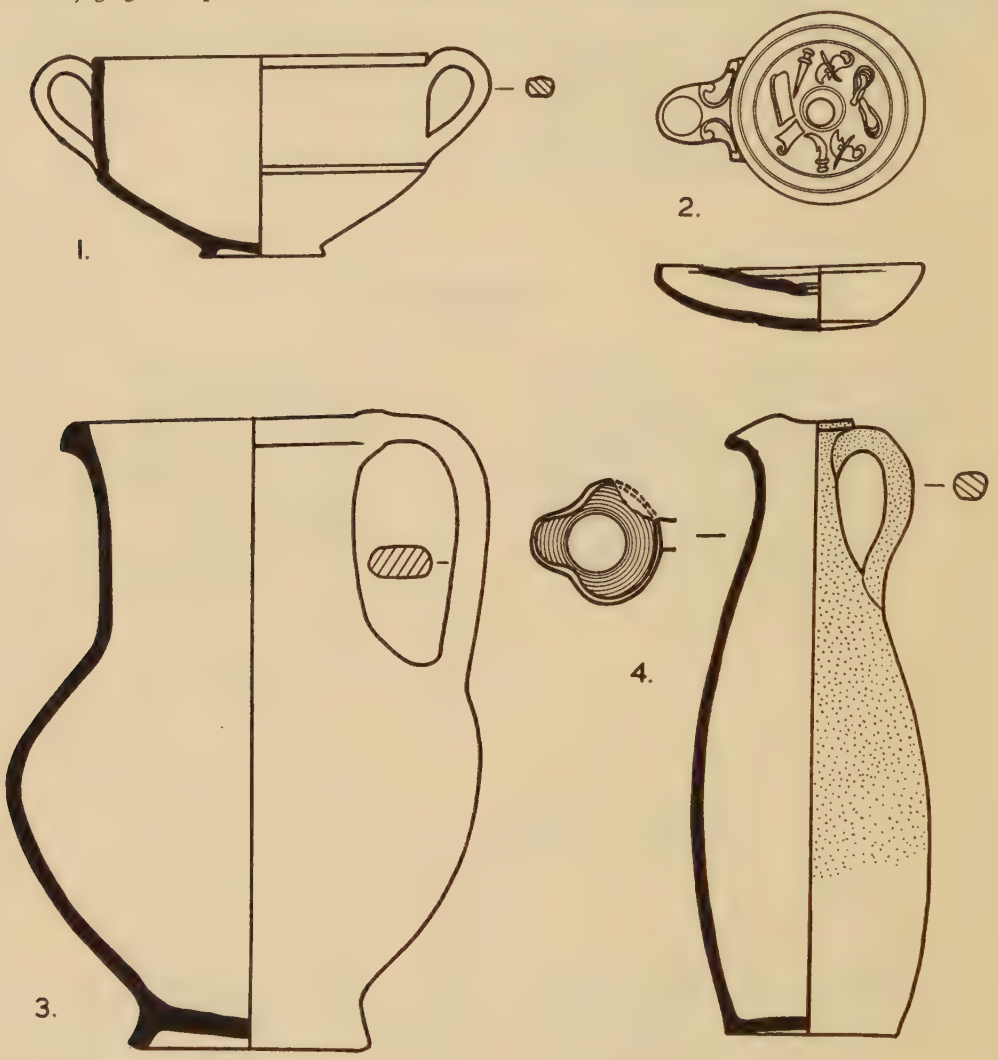


FIG. 4.—TOMB 17: POTTERY AND LAMP. (*Scale* 2 : 5.)
1. DROMOS, NO. 1. 2. NO. 2. 3. NO. 1. 4. NO. 3.

surface. Intact. Maximum height, 21·1 cm.; overall width, 16·00 cm.; diameter of rim, 10·8 cm. (pl. VI, *a*; fig. 4, 3).

2. Lamp (mould-made). Flattened base, delimited by a groove between base and walls; depressed discus with central hole; spout joined to body with volutes (Broneer, type XXII). On discus, relief decoration of gladiatorial weapons, daggers, greaves, helmets (?) and a shield. Extremely well-mixed clay with a few grits, fired buff. Slipped thinly and polished. Slightly lustrous red slip. Intact. Maximum height, 2·3 cm.; overall length, 8·7 cm. (pl. IX, *a*; fig. 4, 2).

3. Matt Red Ware (wheelmade) jug. Flattened, slightly concave base; tall cylindrical body narrowing to short neck; trefoil spout; handle from below rim to shoulder. Extremely well-mixed clay with sandy grog, fired pink-buff. Slipped thinly and slightly polished on upper body and neck. Matt red slip. Intact, but small chip missing from rim. Maximum height, 20·5 cm.; overall width, 7·5 cm. (pl. VI, *b*; fig. 4, 4).

4. Greenish-blue glass bottle. Flattened base; small bulbous body narrowing slightly into tall cylindrical neck; round mouth with folded-over rim. Intact. Maximum height, 5·8 cm.; maximum width, 1·9 cm.; diameter of rim, 1·8 cm. (pl. IX, *c*).

5. Greenish-blue glass bottle. Flattened, slightly depressed, base; small bulbous body. Neck and rim missing. Remaining height, 2·4 cm.; maximum width, 2·5 cm. (pl. IX, *b*).

The stratification of the Dromos and Chamber show this to have been a single burial. On the other hand, the unusual shape of the grave with its apparent relationship to one type of Cypro-Geometric tomb,[3] a type which according to Gjerstad is found throughout the Cypro-Geometric period, suggests the possibility that it may be an earlier grave re-used at a much later date. Some support for this possibility may be found in the fact that village rumour referred to this cemetery as Geometric and Late Bronze Age, and it was claimed that pottery of both periods had been found in looted tombs. The writer did not see any geometric pottery on the site, but did pick up sherds of White Slip I Ware.

It has become evident in the course of preparation of the material for publication that the shapes and types of decoration of pottery represented in these tombs enjoyed a long history and a wide geographical range.

A close parallel to the two-handled bowl, Dromos no. 1, was published in 1939 by Howard Comfort.[4] The bowl, now in the Haverford Museum, is reported to come from Soli. The slip is matt red; but, as far as one can see from the illustrations, the shape and grooved decoration parallel those of the Sphagion bowl. A very similar Matt Red Ware bowl is in the Nicholson Museum (no. CL 88), and almost certainly comes from Cyprus (pl. VI, *d*). Westholm [5] proposed a first century A.D. date for the Haverford bowl. At Soli, both Matt Red and Matt Black Wares [6] are well represented, and Westholm regards them as being later derivations from the Black Lustrous and Red Lustrous types, with the Matt Black Ware appearing earlier and ranging from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Matt Red Ware commences in the first century B.C. and continues parallel to Matt Black.[7] The few sherds of Matt Red Ware illustrated from Soli [8] are close parallels in shape to the Sphagion example. A similarly shaped bowl of 'Nijmegen Ware' [9] from the cemetery of Holdeurn, in Holland, is dated by Holwerda to between A.D. 70 and 105. Bowls with similar body shape but without handles appear in the Eastern Alps of Europe in a first-century context.[10]

[3] *SCE* iv, 2, p. 31, fig. 8, no. 3.
[4] *Syria*, xx (1939), pp. 92–4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[6] *Soli*, pp. 117–18, 120–1, 218 ff. *SCE* iii, 512–13, 515–16. The Matt Black Ware from Soli is well made and hard. The walls sometimes are very thin. The clay is usually grey, but sometimes pale red or pink (our example, pink). The slip is rarely well defined, and can be black, grey, or mottled to dark brown.
[7] *Soli*, Chart, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid.*, pl. XXX.
[9] J. H. Holwerda, *Het in de Pottenbakkerij van de Holdeurn Gefabriceerde Aardewerk uit de Nijmesgeche Grafvelden* (Leiden, 1944), pl. 11, no. 86 (pp. 14, 32). For dating see p. 49.
[10] Schörgendorfer, Taf. 1, nos. 9, 10, 12. Nos. 9 and 10 (p. 1), second half of the first century A.D.; no. 12 (p. 2) middle of first century A.D.

The Plain White jug, no. 1, is paralleled at Kurion in Ayios Ermoyenis Tomb 8,[11] where two examples occurred in the first burial-period, dated on the evidence of lamps to the second half of the first century A.D. A third example from the main chamber was made up of sherds from strata 2, 3, and 4, and is without a precise date. Further comparisons in shape can be made with a Red Slip jug from Amathus, Tomb 17,[12] which is dated to the Antonine period on evidence of a further parallel in Amathus Tomb 18, where an Antonine bronze coin was found in association.[13] A coarse ware jug from Marion Tomb 9,[14] dated to Hellenistic I (late fourth to early third century B.C.), is an earlier comparison for shape.

The terracotta lamp, no. 2, belongs to Broneer Type XXII, and is dated to the first century A.D.[15] Westholm's type 5 from Soli [16] is similar. He would date it on Broneer's evidence to the first half of the first century A.D. Graeco-Roman lamps from Qadesh,[17] Byblos,[18] and Sidon [19] are of the same type. Several close parallels in group XII from Tarsus [20] are dated to the first century A.D. One fragment in particular would appear to be from the same mould as our lamp; the designs are identical, as are those on a short-spouted example from Ehnasya,[21] which is, however, not from the same mould. In England the excavations at Richborough [22] in Kent give further parallels within the first century A.D., and a fragment of a similar type is published from Silchester.[23]

The jug, no. 3, with matt red slip on upper body and neck would appear to have a very long history. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition's excavations at Idalion [24] yielded an extremely close parallel, which is dated to period 6A, equated with the second and third quarters [25] of Cypro-Archaic II (600–475 B.C.). The body-shape continues throughout the Cypro-Classical I and II periods atMarion, where it is mainly represented in Plain White V, VI, and VII Wares (see Appendix, pp. 37–8). Several of the more bulbous examples from Marion have the upper body and neck covered with a thin black or red lustrous slip, in the same manner as the matt red slip on our example. The Black Lustrous example is Cypro-Classical I, the Red Lustrous examples are Cypro-Classical II. Further parallels in Plain White Ware can be found in periods 4, 5, and 6 at Ayia Irini,[26] with the closest parallels in period 5 (middle of Cypro-Archaic II),

[11] *Ayios Ermoyenis*, pl. XXXVII, nos. 15–16 (pp. 471–2), pl. XL, no. 43 (p. 476).

[12] *SCE* ii, p. 103, no. 15, pl. XXIII, 4.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 106, no. 10, pl. XXIV (Antoninus Pius).

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 208, no. 23, pl. XXXVIII, 2, top row.

[15] Oscar Broneer, 'Terracotta Lamps' in *Corinth* IV, 2, pp. 76 ff. and 171–6. Pl. XXV, no. 427, is a fragment of a lamp with similar relief decoration of gladiatorial weapons, but not arranged in the same order.

[16] *Soli*, p. 137, no. 496, pl. XXV, 15. *SCE* iii, pl. CLXXIV.

[17] Maurice Pézard, *Qadesh: Mission Archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend* (Paris, 1931) pl. XV, no. 13. See also *Syria* iii (1922), p. 103 and pl. XIX, 2g.

[18] Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, 1926–1932, i (Paris, 1937), pl. CLXXIV, no. 6060 (p. 403); no. 6509 (p. 419); no. 6529 (p. 421).

[19] *Syria*, i (1920), p. 201, fig. 1, *j*.

[20] Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Küle, Tarsus*, (Princeton, 1950), pp. 93–94, fig. 99, nos. 155, 158, 159. Fig. 107, no. 339, has the same design.

[21] W. M. F. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya* (London, 1905), pl. LVI, no. 88.

[22] J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, iii, pp. 89–91, pl. XIX, nos. 1–3, 5, 6. No. 1 is probably Pre-Flavian; nos. 2–3, A.D. 70–100; no. 5, first century A.D.; no. 6, Claudian. Bushe-Fox (*ibid.*, p. 90) notes that this type is common at Vindonissa (first century A.D.?) and in graves at Trier with coins of Vespasian and Trajan, but is almost completely absent in forts on the *Limes* dated to the reign of Domitian.

[23] T. May, *The Pottery Found at Silchester* (Reading, 1916), p. 110, pl. XLVI, no. 1.

[24] *SCE* ii, pl. CLXIX, no. 10. See also p. 548, no. 599; period chart, p. 608; position, p. 598, fig. 249; from pottery-deposit in Squares G–H: 6–7.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 625.

[26] *SCE* ii, pls. CLXXXVII and CLXXXVIII. Compare especially no. 2715 (p. 772) in Plain White V Ware, dating to the middle of Cypro-Archaic II.

and in the Tombs at Vouni.[27] A related jug with thin black lustrous slip on the upper body, which is reputed to have come from Kurion, is in the Nicholson Museum.[28]

Most of these jugs from Cyprus have round rims, and the pinched-spout type, although present as early as Cypro-Archaic II, appears to be relatively rare. Unfortunately Cypriot pottery of the late Hellenistic period is not well documented by published examples outside the excavations at Soli, and the natural limitations of sherds make a study of morphological changes extremely difficult. While the comparative material already quoted shows that the body-shape has a long history, the fabric and slip of our jug suggest a range from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., in conformity with the evidence from Soli. The apparent absence of the general shape in Cyprus after Cypro-Classical II cannot be used as an absolute argument for a date not later than the fourth century B.C. owing to the comparative rarity of later graves. Evidence from outside Cyprus shows that the shape does in fact occur at a later period, and coupled with the question of fabric this shows that there is no obstacle to a late Hellenistic or early Roman date. A similar type from the graves at Sciatbi [29] in Egypt is dated to the third century B.C. by Westholm,[30] and a somewhat similar example is found in the Eastern Alps in the second century A.D.[31]

The two small glass phials, nos. 4 and 5, can, with minor variations, be paralleled from many sites in Europe and the Middle East, but the number of well-attested occurrences is remarkably small. No. 4 can be closely paralleled in a Roman family vault at Amman,[32] which had been robbed in antiquity and where the finds could not be allocated to individual burials with certainty. A run of coins found in this tomb dates between Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 42–43) and Aurelian (A.D. 270–275). Of a series of small glass bottles from Soli [33] one is very close to our no. 4; they are ascribed to Temple B (after 50 B.C.). There are several close parallels from the Cesnola Collection in New York,[34] said to have come from Dali.

The remaining body of no. 5 can be compared to a glass bottle from a vaulted tomb at Ascalon,[35] which is dated by the excavator as third–fourth century A.D. An earlier parallel with short neck, from a tomb at Amman,[36] belongs to the period 50 B.C.–A.D. 50. Examples from Cyprus are found in the third burial layer in Tomb 22 at Amathus,[37] dated to the transition from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, and in Tomb 2 at Idalion [38] attributed to the fourth century A.D.

[27] *Cypro-Classical I–II:*
SCE iii, Vouni: (*a*) Tomb 1 (pl. XCIX and p. 301), Dromos no. 13 (Coarse Ware).
Cypro-Classical II:
(*a*) Tomb 3 (pl. CI and p. 308), nos. 24 and 26 (Plain White VI). (*b*) Tomb 6 (pl. CII and p. 312), no. 5 (Plain White VII). (*c*) Tomb 7 (pl. CIII and pp. 314–5), nos. 24 and 27 (Plain White VII). (*d*) Tomb 8 (pl. CIV and p. 317), no. 21 (Plain White VI). (*e*) Tomb 9 (pl. CVI and p. 322), no. 3 (Plain White VII).

[28] No. 52. 375. From the Rea Collection.

[29] Evaristo Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi* (Leipzig, 1912) i, p. 87, fig. 44, no. 261. Round mouth and handle from rim.

[30] *Soli*, p. 221.

[31] Schörgendorfer, p. 53, no. 469, and Taf. 38.

[32] G. Lancaster Harding, 'A Roman Family Vault on Jebel Jofeh, Amman', *QDAP* xiv (1948), pp. 81 ff., pl. XXIX, in particular nos. 234, 344, 356, 357, 365, 366, 387. Harding remarks, p. 82, that: 'There is no visible difference in style between any of the groups.'

[33] *Soli*, pl. XXVII, no. 436 (p. 106); the position *in situ* is shown in Plan VI. The parallel references in *SCE* iii are pl. CLXXVI, no. 436 (p. 501), together with Plan XXXVIII.

[34] L. P. di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (3 vols. in 15 parts, 1885–1903) iii, pl. LXXVII, nos. 7 and 9.

[35] J. H. Iliffe, 'Vaulted Tomb at Ascalon', *QDAP* ii (1932–33), pp. 182–183, pl. XLVIII, no. 12.

[36] G. Lancaster Harding, 'A Nabatean Tomb at Amman', *QDAP* xii (1946), pp. 58 ff., pl. XX, no. 11 (p. 61).

[37] *SCE* ii, pl. XXV. 53 (p. 118, no. 53).

[38] *SCE* ii, pl. LXXXVIII. 12 and 13 (p. 633, nos. 12 and 13). See also note 41.

From the foregoing discussion of the contents of the tomb it will be seen that its date must depend mainly on the lamp, no. 2, which seems to be firmly dated within the first century A.D. The objection by Vessberg [39] that Broneer's chronology for lamps is not valid outside Greece does not seem to be borne out by the independent evidence from Europe, although it is probably true that the system of dating used tends to be too rigid, and makes no allowance for survivals and conservatism. The remainder of the objects do not appear to be out of place in a first century A.D. horizon, with the exception of the Matt Red jug (no. 3) for which the writer can find no other parallel in the first century A.D. There is no doubt that the burial is a closed group, and it is clear

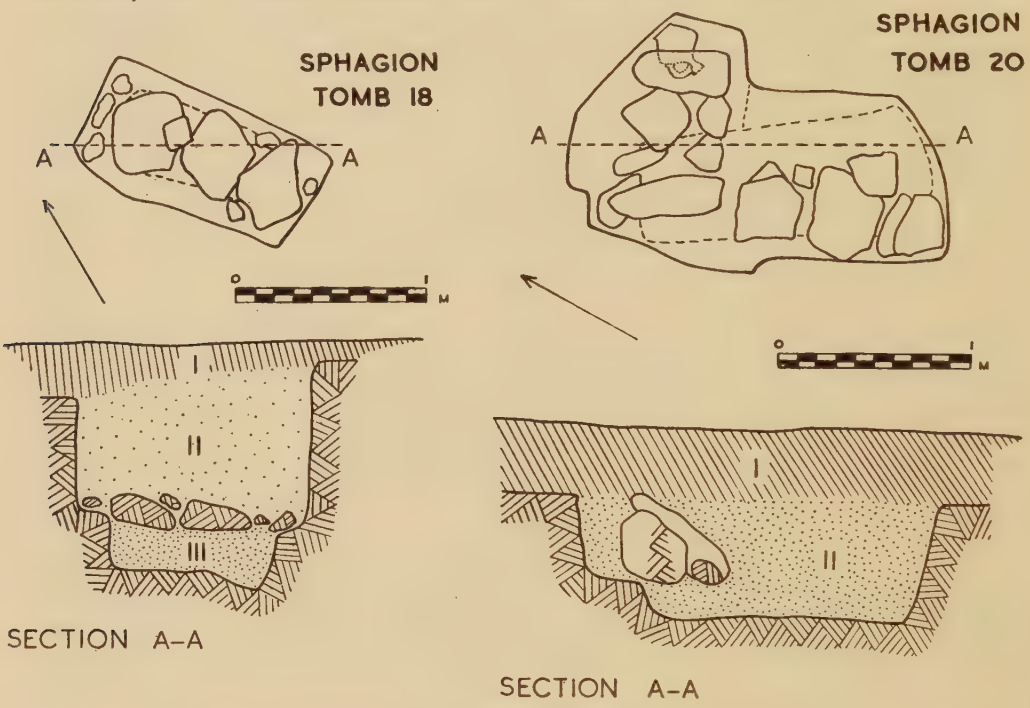


FIG. 5.

that the jug was, therefore, deposited during the first century A.D. Since the shape has a long history, it seems quite possible that this pot is not a survival from an earlier period but was manufactured at a time contemporary with the remainder of the objects in the tomb.

Tomb 18	*Length*	*Width*	*Depth*
Grave	1·36 m.	0·68 m.	0·95 m. 1·34 m.

Shape (fig. 5). The tomb was a simple shaft-grave, rectangular in shape, with apsidal ends. The floor had a roughly rectangular pit dug into it, only large enough to accommodate a child's burial.

[39] O. Vessberg, 'Notes on the Chronology of Roman Glass in Cyprus' in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, ii, p. 164. None of the glass types from Sphagion are represented in this article; but the small glass phials, Tomb 17, nos. 4–5, are a shape considered to be an early example of the type by Vessberg, 'Roman Glass in Cyprus', *Opuscula Archaeologica* vii (1952), p. 131.

Grave (pl. V, *a*; fig. 5). Beneath the surface soil the fill was a consistent mixture of decayed rock and pinkish gravel. On the floor, completely covering the pit, were three large and several smaller stones. The pit was filled with silt. No traces of a burial or objects were found.

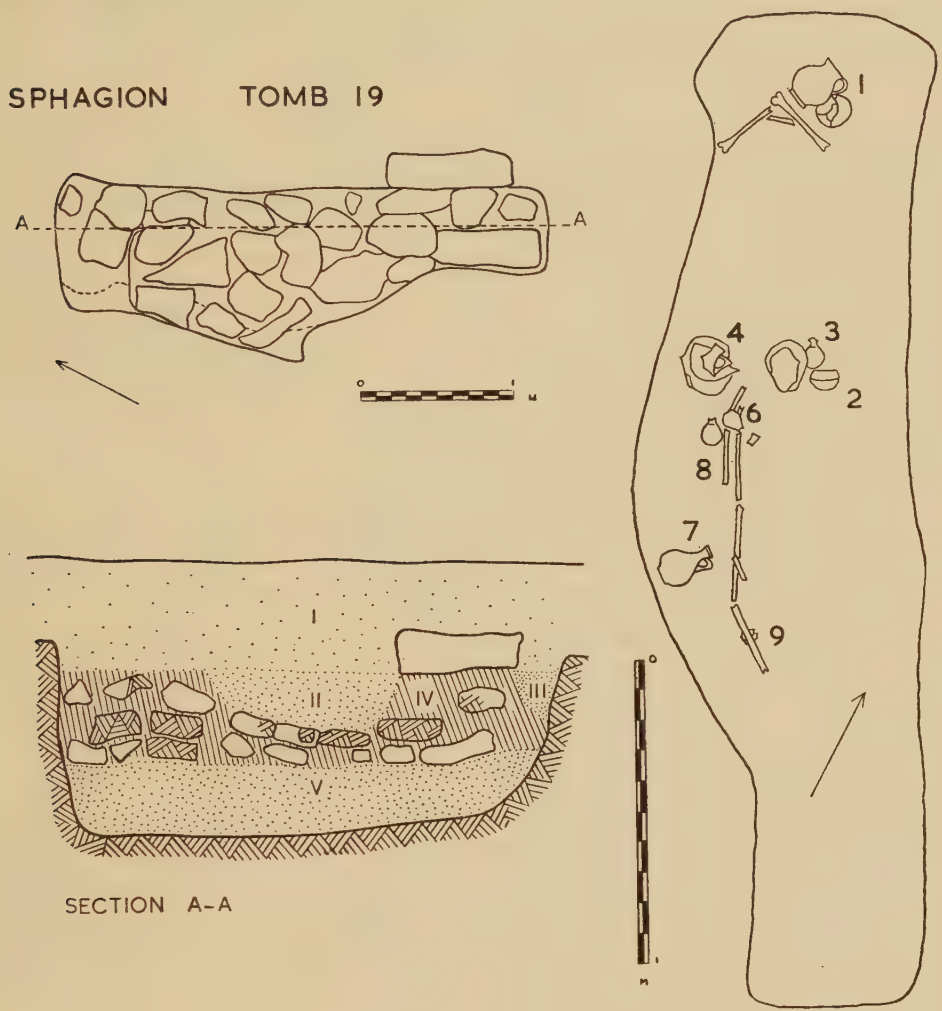


FIG. 6.

Tomb 19

	Length	*Width*	*Depth*
Chamber	3·25 m.	0·75 m.	1·15 m.

Shape (fig. 6). The grave was a simple shaft-burial. The plan was a long, rough rectangle with a bulge on the north side. Large boulders of roughly hewn and uncut rock separated the burial from the dromos.

Grave (pl. V, *b*; fig. 6). Beneath 70 cm. of surface soil (Stratum I) the dromos

fill consisted of pink gravel and large boulders of roughly hewn and uncut rock (Stratum IV). Two pockets, one of fine, pink earth (Stratum II) and the other of surface soil (Stratum III), intruded into Stratum IV. Beneath the heavy blocking stones the deposit was of decayed rock and clay fill (Stratum V), which was consistent down to the floor of the grave. There were two burials in the tomb, but in both cases the bones were too decayed to ascertain their orientation. Both skulls lay upon their bases, facing towards the north-west.

Finds (pls. VII–IX; figs. 7 and 8)

1. Plain White Ware (wheelmade) jug. Ring base; globular body; short broad neck, widening upwards; flat-topped everted rim; strap handle from rim to shoulder. Extremely finely-mixed clay with sandy grog, fired pinkish. Slipped and smoothed; no slip inside neck. White slip, worn off in front and along bottom of one side. Intact, but base and rim chipped. Maximum height, 16·8 cm.; overall width, 14·4 cm.; diameter of rim, 9·1 cm. (pl. VII, *a*; fig. 7, 1).

2. Blue-green glass bowl. Flattened base, slightly convex sides. Narrow groove round rim and broad one round upper body. Intact. Height, 6·6 cm.; maximum width, 9·8 cm.; diameter of rim, 8·5 cm. (pl. VIII, *a*; fig. 7, 3).

3. Lamp (mould-made). Flattened, slightly concave base; depressed discus with hole to one side; angled spout, joined to body with volutes (Broneer, type XXII). On discus, relief decoration of winged figure with spear. Extremely well-mixed clay with sandy grit, fired yellow buff (surface). Slipped thinly and polished. Slightly lustrous brown-black slip, badly worn. Intact. Maximum height, 2·4 cm.; overall length, 7·95 cm.; diameter of bowl, 5·9 cm. (pl. IX, *e*; fig. 7, 5).

4. Plain White Ware (wheelmade) jug. Ring base; sack-shaped body; Short concave neck; folded-over rim; strap handle, with centre rib on each face, from mid-neck to shoulder. At junction of handle with neck, a concave button either side on neck. Extremely well-mixed clay with sandy grog and some larger grits, fired buff or yellowish buff, slipped and roughly smoothed; the slip extends down the inside of the neck. Yellowish buff to light buff slip. Mended; small portions of body and rim missing. Maximum height, 26·1 cm.; overall width, 20·00 cm.; diameter of rim, 4·3 cm. (pl. VII, *c*; fig. 7, 4).

5. Iron knife or dagger. The tang was originally fitted with a wooden handle, riveted to the tang and held in place on both sides with a thick iron loop. Fragmentary. Remaining length, 16·6 cm.; maximum width, 3·8 cm. (pl. IX, *f*; fig. 8, 2).

6. Plain White Ware (wheelmade) bottle. Concave base; piriform body; tall neck, widening upwards; everted, carinated rim. Extremely well-mixed clay with sandy grog, fired greyish-buff. Slipped and smoothed. White Slip. Mended; much of body missing. Height, 10·6 cm.; maximum width, 6·15 cm.; diameter of rim, 3·3 cm. (pl. VIII, *b*; fig. 7, 2).

7. Red Slip Ware (wheelmade) jug. Ring base; sack-shaped body; cylindrical neck; everted, carinated rim; strap handle, with rib on external face, from upper neck to shoulder. Extremely well-mixed clay with fine sand grog and some small grits (on rim), fired buff (on rim). Exterior slipped; an over-slip covers the upper half of the body and all of the neck, rim and handle, and extends well down the inside of the neck; the slip has been smoothed, while the over-slip is slightly lustrous. Very light buff slip, over-slip dark red burned to red-brown round the base of the handle; trickles and splashes of red from the over-slip on the upper body stain the light buff of the lower body; part of the lower border of the red over-slip has been accidentally wiped off owing to clumsy handling by the potter. Upper neck and rim broken; half of rim missing. Maximum height, 17·7 cm.; overall width, 12·05 cm.; diameter of rim, approximately 4·2 cm. (pl. VII, *b*; fig. 8, 1).

8. Lamp (mould-made). Slightly marked ring-base; depressed discus, delimited by a triple grooving; spout joined to body with volutes. Plain discus without design. Extremely well-mixed clay with a few small grits, fired buff. Slipped and polished. Slightly lustrous brown slip, mottled with red in patches. Part of spout missing. Maximum height 2·5 cm.; remaining length, 7·7 cm.; diameter of bowl 6·5 cm. (pl. IX, *d*; fig. 7, 6).

9. Amber glass bowl. Shape similar to no. 2. Too fragmentary for reconstruction.

The grave contained two burials, both of which were placed towards the western end of the cutting. Both the skeletons were badly decayed. The jug, no. 1, lay beside

Skeleton A. The rest of the finds would seem to be associated with Skeleton B. The stratification suggests that both bodies were interred at the same time, and the size of

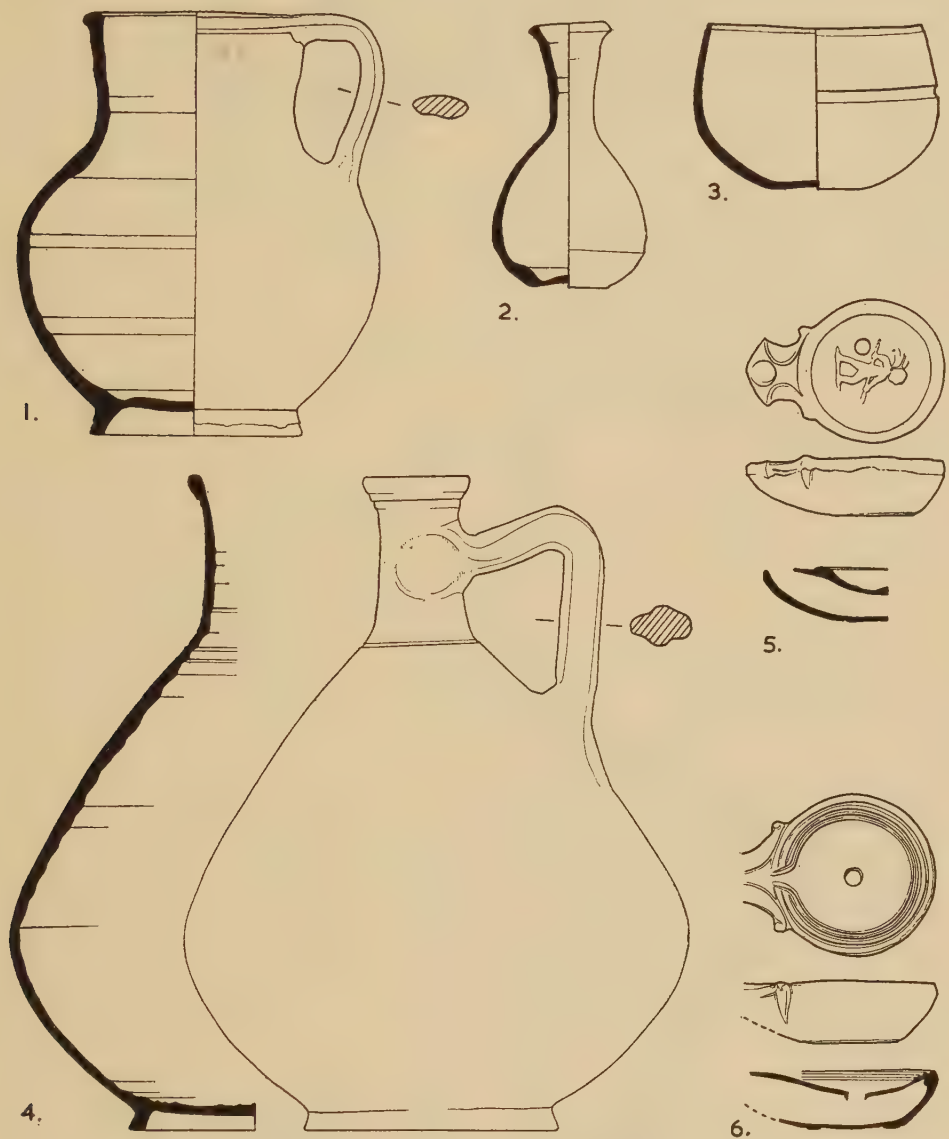


FIG. 7.—TOMB 19: POTTERY, GLASS AND LAMPS. (*Scale* 1 : 3.)
1. No. 1. 2. No. 6. 3. No. 2. 4. No. 4. 5. No. 3. 6. No. 8.

the grave would also perhaps bear this out. The two pockets within the fill, strata II and III, do not represent a reopening of the grave. Both would seem to be evidence for an attempt to rob the tomb at some time.

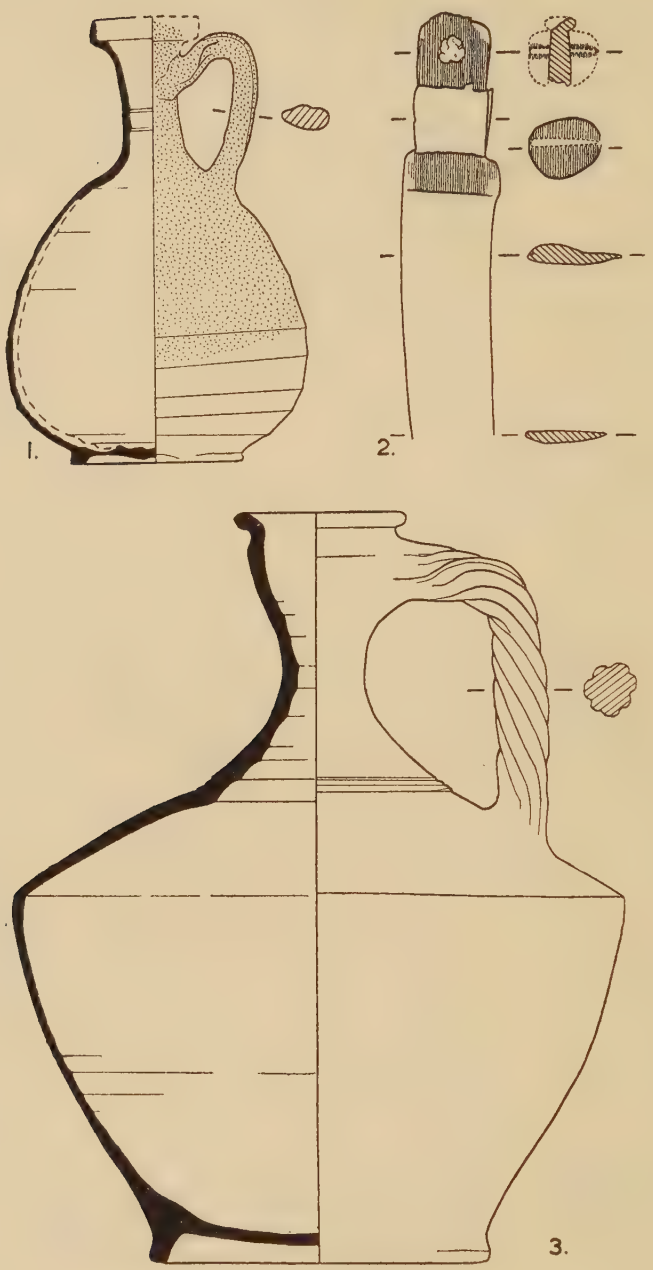


FIG. 8.—TOMBS 19 AND 20. (*Scale* 1 : 3.)
1. TOMB 19, JUG, NO. 7. 2. TOMB 19, KNIFE, NO. 5. 3. TOMB 20, JUG.

The glass bowl, no. 2, can be compared with a fragmentary example from Corinth,[40] which was found in association with Arretine pottery and coins of the first century A.D., and also with a slightly deeper example of the same type from Tomb 2 at Idalion,[41] apparently belonging to the fourth century A.D. A close parallel in shape, but of amber glass (as the fragmentary example, no. 9), was in the Cesnola Collection in New York,[42] from the 'Greek' Tombs at Dali. Another close parallel of thin, pale blue glass with depressed base and grooved band below the rim belongs in a mid-first century A.D. context at Richborough [43] in Kent.

The lamps, nos. 3 and 8, belong to Broneer Type XXII,[44] dated to the first century A.D. The class with angular spout to which no. 3 belongs can be paralleled at Kurion [45] during the Augustan Age, and in a Graeco-Roman context at Qadesh [46] and at Byblos.[47] The lamps contained in group XII at Tarsus [48] include similar types which are also attributed to the first century A.D. The type is represented at Ehnasya [49] in Egypt, by a poorly made specimen from Dura-Europos,[50] and in the Roman tombs of Malta.[51] It occurs in a first century A.D. context at Richborough,[52] and a close parallel to our no. 3 was found in a late Claudian pit in London.[53]

The sack-shaped jug, no. 4, can be paralleled at Kurion in Ayios Ermoyenis [54] Tomb 8, where it is later than the first century A.D., as well as at Holdeurn [55] in Holland, where the several examples are assigned to a Flavian date. Occurrences of similar types in the Eastern Alps [56] are placed in the first century A.D. The shape, but in Red Slip Ware, occurs in Amathus Tombs 17 and 18 [57] during the Antonine period, and at Kition [58] in Stratum D (Ptolemaic).

The small white bottle, no. 6, can be compared with a third-century B.C. example from the tombs at Sciatbi,[59] as well as with three small bottles from Tomb 21 at Amathus,[60] where the horizon is transitional Hellenistic–Roman, and with a fragmentary example from Idalion,[61] Tomb 2, which is attributed to the fourth century

[40] *Corinth* xii, pp. 78 and 101, fig. 8, no. 638; this was found in a deposit behind the South Stoa. For the base shape see p. 109, fig. 9, no. 651.

[41] *SCE* ii, pl. LXXXVIII, no. 10 (p. 653, no. 10). An examination of the stratification of this tomb and consideration of the condition of the fourth-century coin suggest that the precise dating of this tomb requires further consideration. There is nothing in the published evidence to exclude the possibility that the coin found its way into the chamber as a result of natural agency. Vessberg does not include this shape in his papers on glass.

[42] Cesnola, *op. cit.* iii, pl. LXXXIV, no. 1. Cesnola recorded thirty-eight examples of this type of bowl in the collection.

[43] Bushe-Fox, *op. cit.* i, pp. 48–9, pl. XIX, no. 7. Bushe-Fox quotes parallels from the Claudian fort at Hofheim.

[44] Broneer, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–8 and pl. VII, no. 425.

[45] *Ayios Ermoyenis*, p. 484, pl. XLIII, no. 93. Compare also Cesnola, *op. cit.*, pl. CXL, no. 1035.

[46] Pézard, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, no. 34.

[47] Dunand, *op. cit.* i, pl. CLXXIV, no. 6530 (p. 421).

[48] Goldman, *op. cit.* i, pp. 109–10; fig. 98, nos. 139, 141, 142.

[49] Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII, no. 6; pl. LVI, nos. 12 and 88.

[50] M. I. Rostovtzeff and Others, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report* iv, Part III: *The Lamps*, p. 56, pl. VIII, no. 336.

[51] A. A. Caruana, *Ancient Pottery from the Ancient Pagan Tombs and Christian Cemeteries in the Islands of Malta* (Malta, 1899), p. 43, pl. XVII, no. 16.

[52] Bushe-Fox, *op. cit.* i, p. 48 and pl. XIX, no. 4.

[53] *The Times*, London, March 7, 1952.

[54] *Ayios Ermoyenis*, p. 483 and pl. XLIII, no. 91. Found on Stratum II.

[55] Holwerda, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and 40, and pl. VII, no. 474. The handle is less angular than that of the Sphagion example; but compare the handle of no. 475. The body-shape is similar, the rim different. For a parallel to the rim of Holdeurn 474 see Sphagion Tomb 19, no. 7.

[56] Schörgendorfer, p. 55, Taf. 38, no. 479, dated to the first half of the first century A.D. For the body-shape, compare Taf. 39, no. 480 (p. 55), dated to the second half of the first century A.D.

[57] *SCE* ii, p. 103, no. 14, and pl. XXIII. 4; p. 106, no. 9, and pl. XXIV. 1.

[58] *SCE* iii, p. 53, no. 612, and pl. XXXVII. 4.

[59] Breccia, *op. cit.*, p. 87, fig. 46, no. 264.

[60] *SCE* ii, p. 117, nos. 25–26, and pl. XXVI. 1, Plain Red Ware; p. 118, no. 54, Plain White Ware.

[61] *SCE* ii, p. 633, no. 3, and pl. LXXXVIII. 5 (p. 633, no. 3).

A.D. Further parallels occur at Kurion [62] in Ayios Ermoyenis Tomb 8 (first half of the first century A.D.), at Tarsus [63] in the first half of the first century A.D., and during the last stages of the third century at Olbia,[64] and in the Eastern Alps [65] (first to fourth centuries A.D.).

The Red Slip jug, no. 7, can be compared with a red ware jug from Tomb 8 at Jerash,[66] possibly of the first century A.D. Parallels for the shape of the rim and the body are found in the first century A.D. at Holdeurn,[67] and at the end of the first century A.D. in the Eastern Alps.[68] Petrie illustrates a very close parallel from Rifeh,[69] but unfortunately without any reference in the text. A similar type with a somewhat more bulbous body is found at Olbia,[70] in Group E (first to fourth centuries A.D.).

The jug, no. 1, is similar to the almost identical example in Tomb 17 (no. 1), for which the parallels suggest a date from the second half of the first century A.D. to the first half of the second century A.D.

As in the case of Tomb 17 the date of the two burials must depend mainly on the lamps, nos. 3 and 8, which indicate a position in the first century A.D. The remainder of the finds agree with this perfectly well.

Tomb 20

	Length	*Width*	*Depth*
Cutting	1·90 m.	1·30 m.	0·62 m.
Grave	1·52 m.	0·57 m.	

Grave (pl. V, *c–d*; fig. 5). Originally the grave was a rectangular shaft with a ledge running around the top; [71] the shaft was probably roofed over with slabs of stone resting on the ledge. At some period a pit was dug down and encountered the northern angle of the grave, which was then cleared and emptied of its contents. The earth and stones were then thrown back into the cavity, which now included the robber's shaft as well as the rectangular grave itself. Many of the stones overlapped the bottom of the pit, which sloped down to the floor of the original grave. Either at this time or at some subsequent period a single jug was placed at the bottom of the pit, no doubt as an expiatory offering.[72]

Below the surface soil (Stratum I) the earth of the fill was consistent and pinkish in colour; it covered the stones which had been thrown back into the opening.

No remains of either skeletons or objects belonging to the original burial were found.

Finds (pl. VIII, *c*; fig. 8, 3)

1. Plain White Ware (wheelmade) jug. Ring base; carinated body with high shoulder; concave neck, ridged and inverted at the top to accentuate the everted rim; twisted rope handle from below rim to shoulder,

[62] *Ayios Ermoyenis*, pp. 464, 480, and pl. XLII, no. 74. This pot, found in the fifth burial layer, had 'fine, clean, micaceous, buff clay; traces of dark paint on neck and lip. Slightly concave base.'

[63] Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–7; p. 270 and fig. 159, nos. 734–5 = fig. 202, nos. 734–5. Matt light-red-to-black decoration on upper neck of 735, the fabric of which is described as: 'Clay, buff, very fine, hard, mineral temper, trace of mica.'

[64] T. Knipowitsch, *Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Eremitage* (Frankfort a.M., 1939), p. 53 and Taf. VII, no. 2.

[65] Schörgendorfer, p. 67, and Taf. 47, no. 570. Red Slip.

[66] Carl H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 561–4, fig. 41, no. X. 1.

[67] Holwerda, *op. cit.*, p. 26 and pl. VII, nos. 473–474.

[68] Schörgendorfer, pp. 56–7 and Taf. 39, nos. 492, 493.

[69] *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XXII E, no. 5.

[70] Knipowitsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff. and Taf. III, no. 41.

[71] This type is not recorded by Gjerstad in *SCE* iv, 2; but cf. Kazaphani, in a Cypro-Geometric II–III context (*Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology* xxviii (1948), p. 5).

[72] Compare Vounous, Tomb 140 (Stewart, *Vounous*, p. 311).

handle base not pushed through pot wall. Grooved linear decoration around base of neck. Extremely well-mixed clay with fine sandy grog, fired pinkish buff. Slipped and smoothed; the slip extends well down the inside of the neck. White slip. Badly shattered; small parts of body missing. Maximum height, 29·8 cm.; overall width, 24·3 cm.; diameter of rim, 7·2 cm.

The date of the original burial is uncertain, but we may suspect that the grave was cut during the Cypro-Geometric period. No traces of an interment remained.

The writer can find no exact parallels to the lagynos from this grave. The nearest is a painted example from Kiti,[73] in the Cesnola Collection, which on evidence from the Athenian Agora [74] would probably date to the second century B.C. Comparisons, particularly in body-shape, can be made with four examples from Kurion,[75] in Ayios Ermoyenis Tomb 8. These have a taller, more pronounced, neck and less elaborate rim, but no. 23 has also the rope handle from below rim to shoulder. McFadden would date these to the third century B.C. The type with a long neck appears in the Eastern Alps [76] in the first half of the first century A.D.

Early forms appear in Cyprus in the tombs at Marion [77] at the end of Cypro-Archaic II (early fifth century B.C.), and during the Hellenistic I period.[78] Parallels from the Swedish excavations at Kountoura Trachonia [79] are dated to the third century B.C.,[80] and an example from Olbia [81] (Type E) is placed by Knipowitsch between the first and fourth centuries A.D.

There are too few well-attested and sufficiently close parallels to our example to allow one to give a precise date. It seems that the most one can say is that the closest parallels are found during the third century B.C.

Summary

Owing to the lack of time and funds, only the four graves recorded in this report were opened at Sphagion. The shapes of the tombs do not seem to be entirely normal in the Cypriot series, and suggest poor burials, which in some cases at least may have made use of graves originally prepared at a much earlier date. The two complete burials can both be dated to the first century A.D. Although the finds were poor, the importance of these tombs lies in the fact that they add to the scanty number of dated Roman graves from the Near East.

J. B. Hennessy

APPENDIX

As noted above (p. 28), jugs shaped as no. 3 from Tomb 17 had a long history. It may be useful, therefore, to list the following published examples from Marion:

Cypro-Archaic II (600–475 B.C.)

SCE ii, Marion: (*a*) Tomb 50 (pl. LXI and p. 321) nos. 3 and 7 (Plain White V), no. 4 (Plain White VI); Compare also nos. 5, 8 and 14 (Bichrome Red II–V). (*b*) Tomb

[73] Cesnola, *op. cit.* ii, pl. CXXXVII.

[74] *Hesperia* iii (1934), pp. 403–5, 450–51; E. 73 has the rope handle as in Sphagion Tomb 20, no. 1.

[75] *Ayios Ermoyenis*, pp. 473–4 and pl. XXXVII, nos. 21–4; p. 477 and pl. XLI, nos. 52, 53.

[76] Schörgendorfer, pp. 54–5 and Taf. 38, no. 477.

[77] *SCE* ii, pl. XXXVII. 5. Marion Tomb 7, no. 202: Bichrome Red II (V) Ware.

[78] *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII. 2. Marion Tomb 9, no. 9 (p. 208).

[79] *SCE* i, Kountoura Trachonia, Tomb 2, (p. 441 and pl. LXXIII) no. 10. Tomb 7 (p. 448 and pl. CXLI. 7) no. 6. Tomb 8 (p. 450 and pl. CXLI. 6) no. 3. Tomb 14 (p. 458 and pl. CXLI. 5) no. 1.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 459–60.

[81] Knipowitsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff. and Taf. III, no. 40 = Taf. V, no. 6.

62 (pl. LXIX and p. 369) nos. 3, 6, 7, 9, 20 (Plain White V). (*c*) Tomb 72 (pl. LXXV. 1 and p. 393) no. 5 (Plain White IV, pinched mouth). (*d*) Tomb 80 (pl. LXXIX. 2 and p. 416) no. 2 (Plain White V). (*e*) Tomb 89 (pl. LXXXII. 6 and p. 435) no. 5 (Coarse Ware).

Cypro-Archaic II–Cypro-Classical I

Tomb 67 (pl. LXXI. 2 and p. 379) nos. 1, 11, 13, 15 (Plain White V).

Cypro-Classical I (475–400 B.C.)

(*a*) Tomb 20 (pl. XLIII and p. 235) nos. 3, 5, 13 and p. 236, no. 25 (Plain White VI). (*b*) Tomb 23 (pl. XLV and p. 248) nos. 8 and 16 (Plain White VI). (*c*) Tomb 31 (pl. XLVII. 5 and p. 265) no. 4 (Coarse Ware). (*d*) Tomb 35 (pl. XLIX. 2 and p. 275) no. 1 (Plain White VI). (*e*) Tomb 42 (pl. LIII. 2 and p. 298) no. 11 (Plain White VI). (*f*) Tomb 44 (pl. LVI and pp. 306–7) nos. 3, 4, 8, 38, 41, 45, 51, 53, 54 (Plain White VI), no. 1 (Plain White VII). (*g*) Tomb 47 (pl. LVIII. 1 and p. 315) no. 23 (Plain White VI), no. 52 (Plain White V). (*h*) Tomb 49 (pl. LVIII. 3 and p. 320) no. 7 (Plain White VII). (*i*) Tomb 52 (pl. LX. 5 and p. 326) Chamber no. 3 (Plain White V). (*j*) Tomb 56 (pl. LXII. 2 and p. 340) nos. 25, 34, 35, 37 (Plain White VI). Note also the black splashed bobbin bottle No. 41. (*k*) Tomb 58 (pl. LXV and pp. 348–9), nos. 12 and 51 (Plain White VI), no. 57 (Coarse Ware). (*l*) Tomb 59 (pl. LXVI and p. 354), no. 27 (Plain White VI).

Cypro-Classical I–II

(*a*) Tomb 41 (pl. LIII. 1 and pp. 294–5), nos. 4, 15, 24 and 25 (Plain White VI). (*b*) Tomb 72 (pl. LXXVI and pp. 395–6) no. 1 (Plain White V), nos. 19, 20, 31 (Plain White VII).

Cypro-Classical II (400–325 B.C.)

(*a*) Tomb 25 (pl. XLVI. 1 and p. 253) no. 27 (Coarse Ware). (*b*) Tomb 34 (pl. XLVIII. 2 and pp. 271–2) nos. 12 and 34 (Spindle shaped jugs with red lustrous slip on upper body and neck). (*c*) Tomb 39 (pl. LI and pp. 288–9) no. 7 (Plain White VI), no. 43 (Plain White VII). (*d*) Tomb 43 (pl. LIV and p. 302) no. 41 (Plain White VI), from the first burial, which is early in the period; no. 53 (Plain White VII), from the second burial, which belongs to the middle of the period. (*e*) Tomb 45 (pl. LVII and p. 309) no. 11 (Plain White VI). (*f*) Tomb 52 (pl. LX. 5 and p. 326) Dromos no. 3 (Plain White VII). (*g*) Tomb 55 (pl. LXII. 1 and p. 337) no. 5 (Coarse Ware). (*h*) Tomb 59 (pl. LXVI and p. 354) no. 2 (Plain White VII), which is late in the period. (*i*) Tomb 60 (pl. LXVII. 1 and pp. 361–2) nos. 15 and 79 (Plain White VI), no. 14 (Plain White VII). (*j*) Tomb 80 (pl. LXXIX. 2 and p. 416) no. 15 (spindle shaped jug with red lustrous slip on upper body and neck). (*k*) Tomb 91 (pl. LXXXIII. 2 and p. 440) nos. 3 and 9 (Plain White VI), no. 2 (Plain White VII).

THE MUNICIPAL PATRONS OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICA

THE epigraphy of Roman North Africa is well known to be richer than that of any other Western province. Not only is the total number of inscriptions large, but their wide distribution makes possible a detailed study of some municipal institutions[1] without much danger of arguing from evidence from one city to a generalisation covering many. The structure of municipal life in the more populous parts of North Africa was characterised by the large number of communities which, though small, developed genuine civic institutions, as compared with the semi-tribal agglomerations with a few very large cities that we find elsewhere in the Western Empire. Further, many of the sites have been desolate since the end of Roman rule, and no events during that rule brought destruction widespread enough to cause significant gaps in the epigraphy taken as a whole. There are exceptions and special cases; thus the site of Carthage has been built over and few public inscriptions have survived; at Cirta we have few records prior to the second century A.D., though Cirta was settled by Italians at an early date. But these two cities were exceptional; a typical Numidian city was Thamugadi, one of the best preserved of all ancient sites; the long series of inscriptions found can fortunately be checked against those of similar Numidian cities. At Lepcis Magna, another remarkable series of records of *patroni* has a break in the second century which may disappear after further excavation.[2] But in general, the number of the inscriptions and their wide distribution over the urbanised parts of Africa enable us to discount any special features like these.

Nearly 250 African inscriptions refer to the *patroni* of the *coloniae*, *municipia*, and *civitates*. Such municipal *patroni* are, indeed, recorded from almost every province in the Empire,[3] though in far smaller numbers. In the Republican period, they had usually been Roman politicians who thus attached whole communities to their *clientela*.[4] Under the Empire, the position of patron of a community lost much or all of its political significance, but, as will be seen, it survived into the fifth century A.D. and continued to have its uses. This article attempts to show the changes in the function of the *patroni* over five centuries and the different types of person chosen by the African communities at various dates. A list of the known *patroni* follows; in the last column, details sufficient only to indicate the person's rank, provenance, and connection with other *patroni* are given.[5]

[1] E.g., an article on the *curatores rei publicae* of Roman North Africa by C. Lucas, *JRS* xxx (1940), 56 ff.

[2] The *basilica Ulpia*, which may contain these inscriptions, is as yet unexcavated. I must express my gratitude to Miss Joyce Reynolds not only for giving me this information, together with details of many inscriptions from Tripolitania that were then unpublished, but also for comments on this article as a whole. For the conclusions set out, however, I remain responsible.

[3] See references in the short article in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. patronus*.

[4] See R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 73 ff.

[5] The following abbreviations, other than the standard ones, are used:

ILA: R. Cagnat, *Inscriptions latines de l'Afrique*, 1923.
ILAlg: S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, 1922.
ILT: A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, 1944.
IRT: *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, 1952.
C:CIL VIII (Africa).
TRSB: T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*, 1929.

1. *Africa Proconsularis* [6]

1. Curubis	probably 45 B.C.	C. Pomponius [7]	—	*CIL* I² 755
2. *Pagus* of Gurza	12 B.C.	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	*procos. Afr.*	*C* 68
3. Thugga	A.D. 3–6	L. Passienus Rufus	,,	*C* 26580
4. Assuras	15–17	A. Vibius Habitus	,,	*AE* 1913, 40
5. Themetra	27	C. Silius Aviola	formerly military tribune of *Legio III Augusta*	*CIL* V 4919
6. Thimiliga	27	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* V 4920
7. Apisa Maius	28	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* V 4921
8. Siagu	28	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* V 4922
9. *Pagus* of Thugga	14–37	M. Licinius Tyrannus	freedman [8]	*C* 26518
10. ,, ,,	37	L. Postumius Chius	—[9]	*ILA* 558
11. ,, ,,	42	L. Iulius Crassus	*aedil. ornam.*, *trib. mil.*, *duumvir* of Carthage	*C* 26475
12. ,, ,,	42	C. Caesetius Perpetuus	*praef. iur. dic.* of Carthage	*ILA* 520
13. Hippo Regius	43	Q. Marcius Barea	*procos. Afr.* II	*AE* 1936, 32
14. ,, ,,	43	Q. Allius Maximus	legate of *procos.*	*AE* 1936, 32
15. *Pagus* of Thugga	48–49	C. Artorius Bassus	*pontifex*, aedile of Carthage	*C* 26517
16. Utica	35–59	M. Servilius Nonianus	*procos. Afr.*	*ILT* 1170
17. Gurza	65	Q. Aufustius Macrinus	*praef. fabr.*, native of Gurza	*C* 69
18. Utica	80–81	?	*procos. Afr.*	*AE* 1913, 163
19. Capsa	127	P. Valerius Priscus	,,	*C* 98
20. *Pagus et civitas* of Thugga	128–138	Q. Maedius Severus	probably native of Thugga	*C* 26471
21. ,, ,,	117–138	A. Gabinius Datus	*fl. pp.* of Thugga	*ILT* 1511
22. ,, ,,	117–138	M. Gabinius Bassus	*fl. pp.* of Thugga, son of no. 21	*ILT* 1512 and 1391
23. ,, ,,	117–138	A. Gabinius Datus	*aedilis*, *augur* of Carthage, *eq. r.*, son of no. 21	*ILT* 1513
24. ,, ,,	after 126–132	Sex. Pullaienus Florus Caecilianus	*praef. iur. dic.* of Carthage	*C* 26615
25. Calama	*c.* 140	M. Cornelius Fronto	the orator; African	*C* 5350
26. Thubursicu Numidarum	*c.* 150	. . . . . Severus	*procos. Afr.*	*ILAlg* 1283
27. Calama	*c.* 150	?	*procos. Afr.*?	*ILAlg* 282
28. Pupput	*c.* 150–160	Salvius Iulianus	*procos. Afr.*	*C* 24094
29. Agbia	*c.* 138–161	Cincius Victor	native of Agbia, father of no. 30	*C* 1548
30. ,,	,,	M. Cincius Felix Iulianus	*v.e.*, aedile, *duumviral.* of Carthage	*C* 1548 and 27420
31. Simitthu	shortly after 156	C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.* (probably of Thrace); African? [10]	*ILT* 1259
32. Calama	161	Q. Servilius Pudens	*procos. Cret. & Cyr.*, husband of Ceionia Plautia, sister of Verus Imp.; African? [11]	*ILAlg* 281
33. Bisica	161	Q. Servilius Pudens	son of no. 32	*C* 12291
34. *Pagus* of Thugga	shortly after 161	M. Paccius Silvanus Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus	*cos.*, African	*C* 26579
35. Thuburbo Minus	161–169	Sex. Caecilius Crescens Volusianus	*ab epistulis Antonini Imp.*, African, father of no. 45	*C* 1174
36. *Pagus et civitas* of Thugga	161–169	Q. Calpurnius Rogatianus	*praef. fabr.*, possibly native of T.	*C* 26594
37. *Pagus et civitas* of Thugga	163–169	?	probably *eq. r.*	*ILT* 1514
38. ,, ,,	166–169	L. Marcius Simplex Regillianus	probably native of T.; relative of no. 39	*C* 26610
39. ,, ,,	166–169	L. Marcius Simplex	*fl. pp.* of T., aedile of Carthage, *in V dec. adl.*	*C* 1494

[6] Including those from Byzacena, separated from Africa Proconsularis by Diocletian; Tripolitanian inscriptions are given separately owing to their large number.

[7] Presumably a native of Curubis and relative of L. Pomponius Malcio (*CIL* I², 788), freedman, *duumvir*, who repaired the walls of the town in 45 B.C. after Caesar's victory in Africa. The town probably became a *colonia Iulia* at this date or in 44. See *TRSB* 54, 55.

[8] Perhaps a freedman of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, *procos. Afr.*, 8 B.C.

[9] Of the tribe *Arnensis*, that of Carthage. Similar to nos. 11, 12, and 15.

[10] See notes 79–81 and text.

[11] See notes 79–81 and text.

40. Thibiuca	shortly before 167	Q. Caecilius Marcellus Dentilianus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr. Gall. Aquit.*, probably African [12]	*C* 14291
41. Bulla Regia	*c.* 180–190	C. Memmius Iulius Albius	*cos.*, native of BR.	*ILA* 454
42. „	*c.* 180–190	Iulia Memmia Fidiana	*c.f.*, daughter of no. 41	*ILA* 454
43. Thuburbo Maius	180–192	C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes	*cos.*, probably African [13]	*ILA* 281
44. Bisica	189–190	M. Didius Iulianus	*procos. Afr.*	*CIL* VI 1401
45. Thuburbo Minus	*c.* 190	Sex. Caecilius Volusianus	*consularis*, African, father of no. 46	*ILT* 1162
46. Thibiuca	*c.* 190	Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus	*tr. pl.*, African	*ILA* 418
47. Bordj Tuta	*c.* 190	„ „ „	*praetor*	*C* 25367
48. Bulla Regia	196	Marcius Tertullus	*c.v.*, native of BR.	*C* 25515
49. Thibursicu Bure	198–211	Q. Acilius Fuscus	*proc. annon.*, native of TB.	*C* 1439
50. *Pagus* of Thibaris	second century	L. Cornelius Maximus	*magister pagi*, *decurio* of Carthage	*C* 26185
51. *Pagus* of Uchi Maius	„	C. Marius Extricatus	*decurio* of Carthage	*C* 26276
52. *Pagus* of Thugga	„	?	*duumvir quinq.* of Carthage, *in V dec. adl.*	*C* 26624
53. *Pagus et civitas* of Thugga	„	Clemens Clodianus	probably native of T.	*C* 26597
54. Neapolis	probably second century	M. Aurelius Seranus	*c.v.*, *aedil. pleb. desig.*, native of N.	*C* 971
55. Simitthu	probably second century	Sex. Cornelius Felix Pacatus	*IV vir viar. curand.*, probably native of S.[14]	*C* 14559
56. Siagu	second or third century	L. Caesius Marcellus Florentinus	*c.p.*, son of a *proc. Aug.*	*ILA* 305
57. Sicilibba	„	Q. Comius Armiger Crescens	*c.v.*, *aed. cur.*[15]	*C* 25822
58. Calama	„	Q. Domitius Victor	*praef. coh. VI Britt.*	*ILAlg* 284
59. Turris Tamalleni	*c.* 200	Sex. Cocceius Vibianus	*procos. Afr.*	*C* 84
60. Thugga	*c.* 200	?	*fl. pp.*	*C* 26622
61. Bulla Regia	209–211	M. Rossius Vitulus	*e.v.*, *proc. Aug. IV publ. Afr. ad ducena*, native of BR.	*ILA* 455
62. Thagaste	209–211	L. Iulius Victor Modianus	*proc. Aug. per Numid.*	*C* 5145
63. Calama	211–212	Vibia Aurelia Sabina	sister of Commodus Imp.	*C* 5328
64. Furnos	*c.* 220–226	Q. Paccius Victor Candidianus	*eq. r.*, *mag. sac. Cererum* of Carthage, *cur. rei p.*, native of F.[16]	*C* 25808c
65. Turca	probably *c.* 222–235	C. Attius Alcimus Felicianus	*vice praeff. praet.*, native of T.	*C* 23963
66. Uchi Maius	probably *c.* 230+	M. Attius Cornelianus	*praef. praet.*, native of UM.	*C* 15454
67. Furnos	233–238	L. Octavius Felix Octavianus	*decurio* of Carthage, *curator rei p.* of F.	*C* 25808b
68. Avioccala	*c.* 238	C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus	*cos*, native of A., probably great-grandson of no. 195 [17]	*C* 23831
69. „	*c.* 238	Oscia Modesta Cornelia Publiana	native of A., mother of no. 68	*C* 23832
70. Uzappa	253–268	Sex. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Paulinus	(*procos. Afr.*) [18]	*C* 11933
71. „	253–268	Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinianus	*c.i.*, son of no. 70	*C* 11933
72. „	*c.* 260–270	Valerius Rogatianus	native of U.	*C* 11935
73. Thibursicu Bure	260–262	L. Naevius Aquilinus	*procos. Afr.*	*ILA* 506
74. „ „	260–262	Naevius Balbinus Aquilinus	legate, son of no. 73	*ILA* 506
75. Pupput	282	Caelius Severus	*v.c.*, *patricius*, *consularis*, *curator rei p.* of P.[19]	*C* 24095

[12] See notes 79–81 and text. Other *Caecilii* from Thibiuca and Thuburbo Minus (the towns are only five miles apart) are nos. 35, 45, 46 in the list.

[13] See notes 79–81 and text; accepted as African by Lambrechts, *La Composition du Sénat Romain* (193–284), 40, note 1.

[14] See notes 79–81 and text. His tribe, *Quirina*, was that of Simitthu.

[15] See notes 79–81 and text.

[16] It was very unusual in Africa at this date for a man to be *curator rei publicae* of his own city. See Lucas, *art. cit.*, 62.

[17] *PIR*² I, 214–16.

[18] *C* 11933 is a dedication to his son (no. 71), called *patroni filius*. Paulinus is known as a *procos. Afr.* and was almost certainly made patron then.

[19] *PIR*² II, 28 for the date.

76. Veneria Sicca	third century	Valerius Romanus	*v.c., curator rei p.* of VS.	*C* 15881
77. ,, ,,	,,	?	*v.c., curator rei p.* of VS.	*C* 15883
78. Thuburbo Minus	,,	Aelia Celsinilla	*consularis femina*[20]	*ILA* 414
79. Calama	,,	L. Suanius Victor Vitellianus	*consularis vir, curator rei p.* of C.	*ILAlg* 283
80. Utica	,,	C. Accius Iulianus Asclepianus	*consularis vir, curator rei p.* of U.	*C* 1181
81. ,,	,,	Gallonia Octavia Marcella	*c.f.*, wife of no. 80	*C* 1181
82. ,,	,,	Accia Asclepianilla Castorea	*c.p.*, daughter of no. 80	*C* 1181
83. ,,	,,	Accia Heuresis Venantia	*c.p.*, daughter of no. 80	*C* 1181
84. Uchi Maius	,,	?	native of UM.	*C* 26281
85. ,, ,,	,,	?	,, ,,	*C* 26280
86. Vaga	,,	L. Pomponius Dexter Celerinus	*c.v.*, *cos.*; African?[21]	*C* 1222
87. Utica	third century	Q. Octavius Volusius Thuscenius	*cos.*; African?[22]	*C* 1182
88. Furnos	,,	L. Virius Lupus	*cos.*; African?[23]	*C* 23800
89. Bisica	,,	M. Cornelius Octavianus	*dux per Africam et Mauretaniam*	*C* 12296
90. Avedda	,,	M. Munius Primus Optatianus	*eq. r., fl. pp.* of A.	*ILA* 438
91. Uchi Maius	,,	M. Marcius Honoratus Fabianus	*eq. r.*, native of UM.	*C* 15455
92. ,, ,,	,,	C. Mamius Vettius Castus	*e.v.*, native of UM.	*C* 26272
93. ,, ,,	,,	C. Mamius Vettius Aemilianus	son of no. 92	*C* 26272
94. Thibaris	probably third century	Seia Potitia Consortiana	*clarissimae memoriae femina*, native of T.	*ILA* 511
95. Gori	,, ?	Q. Appaeus Felix Flavianus	*sac. urbis Romae aeternae* (at Carthage?), native of G.	*ILT* 768 and *C* 24054
96. (Ghardimau)	,, ?	?	*praef. class. praet. Misen.*	*C* 14729
97. Bulla Regia	probably late third century	Aradia Roscia Calpurnia Purgilla	African,[24] relative of no. 99	*C* 14470
98. Cillium	314	Ceionius Apronianus	*c.v.*, probably native of C., possibly relative of no. 105[25]	*C* 210
99. Thaenae	321	Q. Aradius Valerius Proculus	*praeses Byzacenae*, African origin	*CIL* VI 1685
100. Hadrumetum	321	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* VI 1687
101. Faustiana	321	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* VI 1688
102. Mididi	321	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* VI 1689
103. Zama Regia	322	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* VI 1686
104. Cillium?	321	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*CIL* VI 1684
105. Bulla Regia	326–333	Ceionius Iulianus	*procos. Afr.*, relative of no. 216, possibly African[26]	*C* 25525
106. Madauros	326–333	Aurelius Saturninus Crescentianus	*fl. pp.* of M.	*ILAlg* 4011
107. Madauros	326–333	Aurelius Nicander	*fl. pp.* of M., brother of no. 106	*ILAlg* 4011
108. (Hr. El Fuar)	326–333	Cezeius Largus Maternianus	*legatus procos. Afr.*	*C* 14436
109. Madauros	*c.* 340	,, ,, ,,	*procos. Afr.* III	*ILAlg* 4012
110. ,,	,,[27]	Ceionius Iulianus	(*procos. Afr.*)	*ILAlg* 4011
111. Bulla Regia	*c.* 340	Antonius Marcellinus	*procos. Afr.*	*C* 25524
112. Theveste	361	Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius	,, ,,	*ILAlg* 3052
113. Madauros	364	Caecilius Pontilius Paulinus	*fl. pp., curator rei p.* of M.	*ILAlg* 2101
114. Membressa	379–383	Calicius Honoratianus	probably native of M.	*C* 1296
115. Carthage	395–408	Gabinius Salvianus Edilicius	native of Thuburbo Maius	*ILA* 276
116. (Ain Djal)	407–408	M. Sinius Caripa	native of A.	*C* 25377
117. Tichilla	412–414	?	native of T.	*C* 25864
118. Bulla Regia	probably fourth century	?	*procos. Afr. II., vice sacra cognoscens*	*C* 25528
119. Thubursicu Numidarum	fourth century	Navigius Egnatuleius Pompeius	*fl. pp.* of T.N.	*ILAlg* 1296

[20] Mother of a *vir consularis, curator rei p.* of Thuburbo Minus. [21] See notes 79–81 and text.
[22] See notes 79–81 and text.
[23] See notes 79–81 and text. Probably *cos. ord.* 232.
[24] *PIR*² I, 197. [25] See note 69. [26] See note 69.
[27] *ILAlg* 4011 is certainly contemporaneous with *ILAlg* 4012, but there can be little doubt that Ceionius Iulianus became patron of Madauros when proconsul.

2. *Tripolitania*

120. Lepcis Magna	8 B.C.	M. Licinius Crassus Frugi	*procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 319
121. ,, ,,	A.D. 10–14?	L. Caninius Gallus	,,	*IRT* 521
122. ,, ,,	35–36	C. Rubellius Blandus	,,	*IRT* 330, 331
123. ,, ,,	35–36	M. Etrilius Lupercus	*legatus procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 331
124. ,, ,,	42	Q. Marcius Barea	*procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 273
125. ,, ,,	53–54	M. Pompeius Silvanus	,,	*IRT* 338
126. ,, ,,	61–62	Ser. Cornelius Orfitus	,,	*IRT* 341
127. ,, ,,	72	Q. Manlius Ancharius Tarquitius Saturninus	,,	*IRT* 300
128. ,, ,,	77–78	C. Paccius Africanus	,,	*IRT* 342
129. ,, ,,	77–78	Cn. Domitius Ponticus	*legatus procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 342
130. ,, ,,	83	L. Nonius Asprenas	*procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 346
131. ,, ,,	probably Flavian	?	probably *procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 351
132. ,, ,,	first century	Rufus	?	*IRT* 604
133. ,, ,,	,,	?	?	*IRT* 612
134. ,, ,,	*c.* 149–150	L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus	*procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 536
135. Gigthis	159	Q. Egrilius Plarianus	*legatus procos. Afr.*	*C* 11026
136. Sabratha	175–180	?	*II vir qq.* of S.	*IRT* 23
137. Lepcis Magna	second or third century	?	*trib. mil.*	*IRT* 582
138. ,, ,,	222–235	Iulia Mamaea?[28]	mother of Alexander Severus	*IRT* 449
139. Sabratha	early third century?	P. Alfius Maximus Numerius Avitus	*v.c.; curator rei p.*?	*IRT* 113
140. Gigthis	,,	M. Memmius Caecilianus	*c.v.*, probably native of G.	*C* 22718
141. Lepcis Magna	late third century	?	native of LM.	*IRT* 591
142. ,, ,,	,,	Claudius A	*procos. Afr.*	*IRT* 522
143. Oea	,,	L. Silius Amicus Haterianus	*c.v., curator rei p.*, native of Lepcis Magna	*IRT* 542
144. Lepcis Magna	,,	L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis	*c.v., cos, curator rei p., legatus*, native of LM.	*IRT* 544
145. Gigthis	first–third century	Larcius Lepidus	*legatus procos. Afr.*	*C* 11027
146. ,,	,,	. . . . rianus	—	*C* 11030
147. ,,	,,	. . . . Hortensianus	*quaestor Baeticae*	*C* 22716a
148. ,,	third century?	Memmius Pudens	*c.v.*, probably native of G., relative of no. 140	*C* 22719
149. Lepcis Magna	*c.* 303?	Valerius Vibianus	*v.p., praeses Trip.*	*IRT* 577
150. Sabratha	*c.* 317	Laenatius Romulus	,, ,,	*IRT* 101
151. Lepcis Magna	340–350	Fl. Victor Calpurnius	,, ,,	*IRT* 569
152. ,, ,,	355–360	Fl. Archontius Nilus	*v.p., comes et praeses Trip.*	*IRT* 562, 563
153. ,, ,,	376	Virius Nicomachus Flavianus	*vicarius Africae*	*IRT* 475
154. ,, ,,	after 376[29]	Decimius Hesperius	*ex procos. Africae, iudex sacr. cognitionum*	*IRT* 526
155. ,, ,,	378	Fl. Vivius Benedictus	*v.p., praeses Trip.*	*IRT* 476
156. Sabratha	378	,, ,,	,, ,,	*IRT* 103
157. ,,	fourth century	?	,, ,,	*IRT* 102
158. Lepcis Magna	,,	Magnius Asper Flavianus	,, ,,	*IRT* 575
159. ,, ,,	,,	Publicius Valerianus	,, ,,	*IRT* 576
160. ,, ,,	,,	Fl. Petasius	,, ,,	*IRT* 566
161. ,, ,,	,,	Fl. Macedonius Patricius	*v.c., comes et dux Trip.*	*IRT* 529
162. ,, ,,	,,	?	*c.v., vicarius Africae*	*IRT* 558
163. ,, ,,	,,	?	*v.p., praeses Trip.*	*IRT* 610
164. ,, ,,	,,	?	,, ,,	*IRT* 611

3. *Numidia*

165. Confed. Cirta[30]	104–105	L. Minucius Natalis?	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*[31]	*C* 7069
166. Thamugadi	122–123	P. Metilius Secundus	,, ,,	*C* 2357

[28] A *lacuna* in the inscription makes it possible that she was not a patron.

[29] Decimius Hesperius was *procos. Afr.* in 376, but the occasion of his being patron in Tripolitania was the same as that involving nos. 153, 155, 156, namely, the restoration of the province after invasion and misgovernment; see also note 49 and text.

[30] Most of the *patroni* recorded at Cirta were styled *patronus quattuor coloniarum*, i.e. of the Confederation of Cirta.

[31] The full style of the Numidian legate was usually *legatus Augusti pro praetore exercitus Africae.*

167. Thamugadi	124	?	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*AE* 1920, 121
168. Cuicul	*c.* 125	Q. Planius Eggius Ambibulus	,, ,,	*AE* 1911, 111
169. Thamugadi	126	?	,, ,,	*C* 17845
170. Thamugadi	117–138	A. Larcius Priscus	,, ,,	*C* 17891
171. Tiddis	*c.* 135	Q. Lollius Urbicus	native of T., later governor of Britain	*C* 6706
172. Confed. Cirta	shortly after 138	P. Pactumeius Clemens	*cos.* 138, native of C.	*C* 7059
173. ,, ,,	141	T. Caesernius Statius Quintius Macrinus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*C* 7036
174. Thamugadi	141	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 17849
175. ,,	144–146	C. Praestina Messalinus	,, ,,	*C* 17851
176. ,,	149	L. Novius Crispinus	,, ,,	*C* 17852
177. Diana Veteranorum	150	,, ,,	,, ,,	*AE* 1930, 40
178. Thamugadi	152	M. Valerius Etruscus	,, ,,	*C* 17855
179. ,,	158	L. Matuccius Fuscinus	,, ,,	*C* 17857
180. ,,	139–160	?	,, ,,	*C* 17856
181. ,,	139–160	?	,, ,,	*C* 17861
182. ,,	161–180	C. Modius Iustus	,, ,,	*AE* 1916, 86
183. Diana Veteranorum	162	D. Fonteius Frontinianus	,, ,,	*C* 4589
184. Thamugadi	162	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 17865
185. Verecunda	163	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 4232
186. Diana Veteranorum	163–164	C. Maesius Picatianus	,, ,,	*C* 4591
187. Confed. Cirta	probably *c.* 170–180	M. Fl. Postumus	*praef. aerar. milit.*, African [32]	*C* 7044
188. Verecunda	172–174	M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*C* 4209
189. Thamugadi	174	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 17869
190. Cuicul	174	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*BAC* 1915, 124
191. ,,	176–177	A. Iulius Pompilius Levillus	,, ,,	*AE* 1911, 103
192. Diana Veteranorum	183	M. Valerius Maximianus	,, ,, ; his family from D.V.	*C* 4600
193. Cuicul	183	,, ,, ,,	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*AE* 1920, 16
194. Diana Veteranorum	183	Ulpia Aristonica	wife of no. 192	*AE* 1933, 70
195. Confed. Cirta	*c.* 184–188	C. Arrius Antoninus	*procos. Asiae*, native of Cirta [33]	*C* 7030
196. Verecunda	188	Ti. Claudius Gordianus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*C* 4230
197. Cuicul	188	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 8326
198. Confed. Cirta	196	Q. Anicius Faustus	,, ,,	*C* 19495
199. Lambaesis	197	,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 18256
200. Thamugadi	197	,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 17870
201. Cuicul	199	,, ,,	,, ,,	*AE* 1911, 106
202. Thamugadi	second–third century	?	,, ,,	*C* 2376
203. Verecunda	,,	P. Iulius Liberalis	*sacerdotalis prov. Afr.*	*C* 4252
204. Cirta [34]	third century?	L. Lucceius Hadrianus	*v.p.*, *rationalis*	*C* 7043
205. ,,	,,	Fabia . . . Iovina	wife of no. 204	*C* 7043
206. Thibilis	early third century	C. Iulius Pudens	*c.v.*, *quaestor*,[35] probably native of T.	*C* 18908
207. Thamugadi	,,	P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus	*c.v.*, *procos. Cret. et Cyr.*, native of T.	*C* 17910 and *ILS* 8981
208. Thibilis	211–212	Vibia Aurelia Sabina	sister of Commodus Imp.	Gsell et Joly, *Announa* 20–21
209. Confed. Cirta [36]	*c.* 224–227	L. Apronius Pius	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.*	*C* 19131
210. Thamugadi	*c.* 227–230	P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus	,, ,,	*C* 2392
211. Cirta [37]	227–230	,, ,, ,,	,, ,,	*C* 7049
212. Lambaesis	247 [38]	M. Aurelius Cominius Cassianus	,, ,,	*C* 2611
213. Cuicul	244–249	L. Titinius Maximus Clodianus	*fl. pp.* of C.[39]	*C* 8329
214. Cirta	251	M. Cocceius Anicius Faustus Flavianus	*consularis*, *curator rei p.*	*AE* 1941, 61
215. Lambaesis	268–320	Severinius Apronianus	*praeses Numidiae*	*C* 2661

[32] *PIR*² III, 164.
[33] *PIR*² I, 212.
[34] Patron of the *res publica Cirtensium*—that is, probably of Cirta only.
[35] See *C* 18907 and Lambrechts, *op. cit.* 29.
[36] An inscription from Sigus, in the territory of the Confederation.
[37] Patron of the *res publica Cirtensium*, see note 34.
[38] See E. Birley, *JRS* xl (1950), 60 ff. for date.
[39] Father of L. Titinius Clodianus, legate of Numidia.

216. Cirta	349–353	Ceionius Italicus	*c.v.*, *consularis Numidiae*, relative of no. 105, possibly African [40]	*C* 7012
217. Milev	349–353	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	*C* 7013
218. Thamugadi	362–364	Vulcacius Rufinus	*v.c.*, *consularis Numid.*, *c.* 340	*C* 2403
219. ,,	,,	Marius Decianus	*v.c.*	,,
220. ,,	,,	Insteius Lampadius	,,	,,
221. ,,	,,	Pompeius Deuterius	,,	,,
222. ,,	,,	Cornelius Valentinus	,,	,,
223. ,,	,,	Iulius Paulus Trigetius	*sacerdotalis*	,,
224. ,,	*c.* 367	Aelius Iulianus	*fl. pp.*, *praesidalis*, *ex curatore rei p.*	*AE* 1913, 25

4. *Mauretania* [41]

225. Caesarea	*c.* 20	Iuba and Ptolemy	client kings of Mauretania	*C* 20977
226. Rusguniae	26	?	*praetor*, *leg. procos. Asiae*	*C* 9247
227. Tubusuctu	55	Q. Iulius Secundus	*leg. Aug. pr. pr.* (probably of Numidia)	*C* 8837
228. Saldae	*c.* 117–134	Sex. Cornelius Dexter	*procurator Asiae*, native of S.	*C* 8934
229. Banasa	162	Q. Claudius Ferox Aeronius Montanus	*procurator Mauret. Tingitan.*	*AE* 1948, 115
230. Auzia	200	T. Aelius	*decurio* of A.	*C* 9015
231. ,,	*c.* 230	Q. Gargilius Martialis	*curator et dispunctor*, native of A.	*C* 20751
232. ,,	*c.* 230	,, ,,	*eq. r.*, son of no. 231	*C* 20751
233. Lemellef	244–249	M. Aurelius Atho Marcellus	*v.e.*, *procurator Mauret. Caes.*	*C* 8809
234. Volubilis	277–280	Clementius Valerius Marcellinus	*v.p.*, *praeses Mauret. Tingitan.*	*ILA* 621
235. ,,	second or third century	L. Sariolenus Proculus	?	*ILA* 633
236. ,,	probably third century	M. Maturius Victorinus	*v.e.*, *praeses Mauret. Tingitan.*	*C* 21833
237. Gunugu	,,	C. Fulcinius Fabius Maximus	*c.v.*, *leg. procos. Baeticae*, native of Cartenna	*C* 21451
238. Caesarea	,,	?	*procurator Mauret. Caes.*	*C* 20999
239. Satafi	third (fourth?) century	M. Annius Sacerdos	*eq. r.*, *curator et dispunctor*	*C* 20268
240. Auzia	320	Q. Clodius Clodianus	*dispunctor*, native of A.	*C* 9020
241. Satafi	379–383	Fl. Felix Gentilis	*praeses Mauret. Sitif.*	*C* 20266
242. [42] Tipasa	late fourth century	Fl. Hyginus	*v.c.*, *comes et praeses Mauret. Caes.*	*CIL* II 2110

It will be seen that only one out of the 242 inscriptions refers to a *patronus* of the Republican period. We are thus concerned with the patronate of the Empire, when its former political significance had entirely disappeared. Regrettably few inscriptions refer to the activities of the *patroni*, and these only in very general terms. The earliest, a reference to the protective function of the patron, occurs in the *tessera patronatus* recording the adoption of Q. Iulius Secundus (no. 227), probably legate of Numidia in A.D. 55, as patron of Tubusuctu; the patron 'eos (*sc.* decuriones et colonos Tubusuctitanos) patrocinio suo tuendos recepit.' [43] Similarly, a native and patron of Agbia between 138 and 161 (no. 29) was elected 'ad tuendam rem publicam suam ex consensu decurionum omnium'. About the same time a man who was probably a Roman knight was called 'patronus et advocatus eloquentissimus' of the *pagus et civitas* of Thugga (no. 37); at the same place a late second-century inscription refers to a 'patronus et defensor causae publicae' (no. 53). In all these cases there is the idea that the patron is to protect

[40] See note 69.

[41] The three Mauretanias—Caesariensis, Tingitana, and Sitifensis—are listed together, as so few relevant inscriptions have been found.

[42] These index numbers are used in the remainder of the article for convenience and brevity to refer to the details of the *patroni* given in the list.

[43] This is a variation of the usual formula in the *tesserae* —'ille illos in clientelam suam recepit'.

his clients; and despite the lack of explicit references, it requires little imagination to visualise occasions when protection might be needed—disputes with the *fiscus*, or with the provincial governor, with neighbouring communities or wealthy land-owners (including the Emperor) whose territory marched with that of the client town. The latter three inscriptions quoted refer to men of no importance outside their own district, but it is legitimate to assume that more eminent patrons performed a similar function at a higher level. That a patron's services were often exercised at law is clear both from the reference to a 'patronus et advocatus eloquentissimus' and from our only literary notice of the African municipal *patroni*. This occurs in a letter of Fronto [44] to the city council of Cirta dated shortly before 161. Apparently refusing a request to become patron himself, he advised his native city to choose persons who were at the head of the Roman bar; [45] he made three suggestions, all men of consular rank and recommended for their eloquence, two of them of African origin.

All these references are from the best period of municipal life in Africa. From the beginning of the third century, however, there seems to have been a change in the character of the patronate corresponding in a considerable degree to a change in the type of person chosen as patron—the influential man of African origin giving place to an official serving in Africa (see below). Many of the *curatores rei publicae* who were patrons were honoured by inscriptions in the extravagant terms then becoming popular. Thus between 233 and 238 a statue was erected to the *curator et patronus* of Furnos 'ob insignem iustitiam et benevolentiam eius' (no. 67). Similar phrases honour curators and patrons of Calama (no. 79: 'ob insignem iustitiam et integritatem eius'), Pupput (no. 75: 'exemplum mirae integritatis et innocentiae inimitabilis') and Veneria Sicca (no. 76: 'vir mirae bonitatis atque integritatis').[46] Of these officials, the last three were of senatorial rank and, according to the normal practice, not citizens of the towns over which they had charge.[47] It seems probable that the dedications had in mind their official activity as *curatores*, not as *patroni*; [48] *iustitia* and *integritas* were qualities to be thankfully recognised in the former and taken for granted in the latter.

References in similar terms to governors who were also patrons begin to occur about the same time, becoming common from the time of the Tetrarchy. A *proconsul Africae*, patron of Lepcis Magna at the end of the third century, was praised for his *integritas*, *lenitas*, *moderatio*, *iustitia* (no. 142); in the middle of the fourth century the city of Madauros erected a statue to its patron, the proconsul Gezeius Largus, 'cuius proconsulatus beneficia plurima civitas et res publica consecuta fuerit' (no. 109); from the series of inscriptions celebrating the moral and material reconstruction of Tripolitania *c.* 376–378 after the invasions of the Austuriani and the settlement of the *affaire* of the *comes* Romanus,[49] we may single out Fl. Vivius Benedictus, *praeses prov. Tripolitanae*, patron of Sabratha in 378, celebrated for *integritas*, *moderatio*, *iustitia*, *provisio*, *fides*, *benignitas*, *fortitudo*, and *beneficentia* (no. 156). Clearly such virtues, whether sincerely praised (as they probably were by the Tripolitanians) or merely rhetorical, were those

[44] *Ad amicos* II. ii. The letter is unfortunately much mutilated, but the sense seems clear. Fronto excused himself, '(quod) malim patriae nostrae tutelam auctam quam meam gratiam'. His diffidence seems to be explained by his age—it was seventeen years since his consulship—for he goes on to affirm that the city had been most helped by lawyers in the prime of life.

[45] 'qui nunc fori principem locum occupant'.

[46] Similar dedications, nos. 77, 64, 80.

[47] Lucas, *art. cit.* (note 1) 61, 62.

[48] Similar honorific dedications to *curatores* who were not *patroni*: *C* 11332 (Sufetula), *ILA* 210 (Saradi), *ILA* 44 (Thysdrus).

[49] Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii, 6, 1–29.

to be hoped for from officials of any rank.[50] Consequently, it would appear that for these governors and *curatores* the patronate was little more than an honorary distinction, though doubtless conferred by the cities in the hope that they would behave towards their clients as a good patron should. It is indeed possible that the patronate had become so formal that fair dealing by an official was not so much the effect as the cause of his being chosen patron perhaps at the end of his term of office; a late fourth-century inscription records the grant of a *tabula patronatus* by the city of Tipasa to its patron, a former governor of Mauretania Caesariensis, 'ob merita iustitiae eius . . . post decursam administrationem' (no. 242).

It would appear that in the third century also the concrete benefits of protection exercised by those *patroni* who held the position in their native towns were replaced by possibly less tangible ones, summed up in the word *amor* so frequently referred to in honorific dedications to such persons. Thus C. Attius Alcimus Felicianus (no. 65) was honoured at Turca, probably between 222 and 235, 'ob eximium amorem in patriam', his relative C. Attius Cornelianus (no. 66) of Uchi Maius, 'ob incomparabilem amorem in patriam'. About 270 the son of a patron of Uzappa was honoured because of his father's *amor* (no. 72). A similar vagueness as to the activity of a patron is manifested in a dedication at Avioccala to Oscia Modesta Cornelia Publiana, one of the half-dozen women who were *patronae*, 'ob insignia eius merita quibus inlustrat originis sua patriam' (no. 69).

Undoubtedly one of the duties expected of those who were patrons of their native towns was the construction or repair of public buildings; though this does not seem to have been true of those honoured for their *amor* and of other local men of high rank, but to have chiefly applied to those of municipal rank. Examples occur in the proconsular province throughout the period under discussion (in Numidia and Mauretania, where officials predominated as patrons, their function appears merely to have been to dedicate the finished object). In the reign of Tiberius a *patronus* of the *pagus* of Thugga (no. 9) 'restituit aedem et statuas corruptas' in the native town. A patron of Agbia in the second century, Cincius Victor (no. 29), carried out so much building that the local council asked that his son (no. 30) might also become patron; the father thereupon gave further gifts and a feast to the decurions and citizens, 'ad ampliandam benignitatem suam'. A temple of Diana was erected at Bulla Regia in 196 from money left '. . . inter cetera eximiae liberalitatis suae in patriam documenta . . .' by a citizen and patron of the town (no. 48). Buildings and public dinners were the benefactions during the third (and possibly fourth) centuries at Uchi Maius (nos. 84 and 85); and towards the end of Roman rule we have a patron (no. 116) of the town on the site of Ain Djal who 'ex professione sua novum fontem perfecit'.

The African inscriptions tell us something of the question of hereditary patrons. Most of the known *tesserae patronatus*, the bronze tablets which recorded the adoption of a patron by a community, testify to the position being hereditary. Thus, one of the earliest from Africa (no. 2), dated 12 B.C., runs:

> Senatus populusque civitatium stipendiariorum pago Gurzenses hospitium fecerunt quom L. Domitio Ahenobarbo procos. eumque et posteros eius sibi

[50] Similar honorific dedications to governors, nos. 109, 110, 111, 149, 150, 152, 160, 161, 209.

posterisque sueis patronum cooptaverunt isque eos posterosque eorum in fidem clientelamque suam recepit.

Three centuries later, the formula is similar (no. 103):

. . . coloni coloniae Aeliae Hadrianae Aug. Zamae Regiae Q. Aradium Valerium Proculum ipsum liberos posterosque eius sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptaverunt. Q. Aradius Valerius Proculus colonos col. Ael. Hadrianae Aug. Zamae Reg. ipsos liberos posterosque eorum sibi liberis posterisque suis in clientelam recepit.

There is evidence to show that a connection was in fact sometimes maintained between the patron's descendants and a client town. Between 117 and 138 A. Gabinius Datus and his two sons were patrons of the *pagus et civitas* of Thugga (nos. 21–23). Sex. Caecilius Crescens Volusianus, *ab epistulis* to M. Aurelius and Verus, and his son, a man of consular rank, were both patrons of Thuburbo Minus (nos. 35 and 45). Some time in the third century, Q. Octavius Volusius Thuscenius, of consular rank, was honoured at Utica as *patronus a parentibus* (no. 87), as was Ceionius Iulianus at Bulla Regia between 326 and 333 (no. 105). Sex. Anicius Faustus Paulinianus, patron of Uzappa, is called *patroni filius* (no. 71); his father, Sex. Cocceius Paulinus, probably became patron when proconsul of Africa between 253 and 268.

It would seem obvious that the position of patron, being hereditary, was held for life. We should, however, notice the use in Africa Proconsularis of the term *patronus perpetuus* during the third century. It was given to two consular *curatores* (nos. 80 and 75), the mother of a consular *curator* (no. 78), and two proconsuls of Africa (one perhaps of the fourth century) who were almost certainly strangers to the province (nos. 118 and 142). L. Volusius Bassus Cerealis, a late third-century consular *curator* of Lepcis Magna (no. 144), was, exceptionally for his position, a native of the city in his charge, but he may have resided chiefly at Rome; [51] L. Pomponius Dexter Celerinus (no. 86) was perhaps an African. It may be, therefore, that the title of *patronus perpetuus* came to be used in Africa Proconsularis to distinguish officials from outside Africa who became patrons for life from those who held the position for only a limited period. Its appearance coincides with the replacement of prominent Africans by officials as the type of patron looked to in that province. The term does not occur in Numidia, where patrons of official status were chosen almost exclusively in all periods. If these Numidia patrons retained their interest in their clients, it may be seen that a town like Thamugadi could, in the second century, have had as patrons perhaps ten ex-governors (all of whom became consul either while still in the province or immediately on leaving). There was, however, no rule which limited the number a town could have; to take a case from Apulia, thirty-one senators and eight knights were patrons of Canusium in 223.[52] It does so happen that Thamugadi provides us with the only complete list of *patroni* of an African town, but at a much later date, in 362–363.[53] Only one of the six patrons in this list, Vulcacius Rufinus, is known to have been governor, and that about twenty years before. He may well have been chosen patron then; but it may be noted that he was a connection of the Emperor Julian, who had succeeded in 361, and was favoured

[51] See *CIL* VI 1554, a dedication to him at Rome by the city of Lepcis.

[52] *CIL* IX 338. Needless to say, Canusium was a much more important place than Thamugadi.

[53] *C* 2403, usually called the Album of Thamugadi.

by him; [54] it would have been natural to look to such a former governor as a powerful influence. He was, besides, a practising pagan, and the enthusiasm among the *curiales* in Numidia for Julian's religious policy was very marked.[55] Nothing is known of the other four *viri clarissimi* in this list; it is quite possible that some were former governors. Iulius Trigetius, *sacerdotalis*, was presumably a former *curialis* of some wealth, and a lawyer, these being the persons now chosen for the provincial priesthood.

The patronate can have brought little material benefit to its holders; no inscription implies that they received anything more than the erection of a statue or honorific dedication, though it is, of course, possible that some other recompense was given but not recorded. *Tesserae patronatus* were displayed in public places in the town concerned and in the residence of the patron. Few of these have survived, but very many honorific inscriptions are known, particularly from the end of the second century. In a few cases, the families of patrons were similarly honoured.

The choice of a patron rested naturally enough with the local councils, as we learn from the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* XCVII and CXXX and the *Lex Malacitana* LXI. For specific instances in Africa, we have Fronto's letter to the *tresviri et decuriones* of Cirta, and an inscription from Agbia recording the choice of a patron 'ex consensu decurionum omnium' (no. 29). The *populus* does, however, occur, in its usual subordinate rôle, in the formularies on some *tesserae*,[56] and participates with the *ordo* in a number of dedications to the patrons.[57]

The persons chosen as patrons fall with few exceptions into four main groups :

1. The proconsuls of Africa and their *legati*, the *legati Augusti pro praetore exercitus Africae* (governors of Numidia) and governors of the other African provinces.
2. Men of African origin who reached high rank in the imperial service.
3. *Curatores rei publicae*.
4. Members of the municipal aristocracy, particularly of Carthage, not known to have been prominent outside Africa.

Patrons belonging to the first group occur frequently from the reign of Augustus to that of Valentinian I in all parts of Africa, but an important difference between Africa Proconsularis on the one hand and Numidia and Mauretania on the other, in the choice of governors as patrons, is at once evident. In the former, from towards the end of the first century to the middle of the third, few proconsuls are found as *patroni*, while in Numidia, the *legati* almost monopolise the list, and in Mauretania also, as far as can be told from the limited evidence, the governors were most frequently patrons. The chief reason for this was that municipal life was far more advanced in Africa Proconsularis, especially in the coastal regions, than in the rest of Africa. In Numidia,

[54] *PW* I A 1, 1187; his sister had been the first wife of Iulius Constantius, Julian's father.

[55] Only one dedication to an Emperor between 337 and 361 is known from Numidia (*AE* 1909, 229); nine have so far been found honouring Julian in his two years' reign—*AE* 1893, 87 ('restitutor sacrorum'), *C* 18529 ('restitutor libertatis et Romanae religionis'), *AE* 1937, 145, *AE* 1916, 20, *AE* 1909, 232, *AE* 1916, 11, *C* 4771, *C* 2387, *AE* 1949, 134. Doubtless the Donatists, to whom Julian restored freedom of worship, and whose chief strength was in Numidia, were prepared to join in this enthusiasm.

[56] e.g. *CIL* I² 755 (*Senatus populusque Curubitanus*), *CIL* V 4922 (*Senatus populusque Siagitanus*). This was merely a way of indicating that the town as a whole was concerned; on other *tesserae* referring to Africa we have simply the name of the town (*civitas Apisa Maius*, *CIL* VI 4921, *civitas Themetra*, *CIL* VI, 4919) or, if a colony, a formula as *coloni coloniae Aeliae Hadrianae Aug. Zamae Reg.* (*CIL* VI, 1686).

[57] e.g. *ILA* 210, *IRT* 103, 475, 558.

only Cirta, the old royal capital and focus for Italian immigration, had advanced far in this direction by the end of the first century; in Mauretania there were a few deductions to coastal sites, such as Rusguniae and Saldae, in the reign of Augustus, but the interior remained empty. The impetus to urbanisation in Numidia and the neighbouring part of Mauretania which later formed the province of Mauretania Sitifensis came in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, with the foundation of veteran colonies of the African legion, III Augusta. Cuicul in Numidia and Sitifis were founded by Nerva, and Thamugadi by Trajan in A.D. 100; [58] Diana Veteranorum, though not a colony, was a foundation of Trajan or Hadrian and a *municipium* by 163; [59] Verecunda, a *vicus* of veterans by 149, was a *res publica* by 162.[60] Lambaesis, the headquarters of the legion from the end of Trajan's reign, soon had a settlement around it, with its own organisation by 162, which was a *municipium* by the time of Commodus.[61] All this progress depended entirely on the activity of the army, and it was natural that its commanders should be so frequently chosen as patrons.

In the proconsular province, besides the settlements of veterans and urban poor from Rome, there was a long Punic tradition of city life. With the natural wealth of the region, there was little need of official encouragement in the direction of urbanisation; in fact, in the second century, there was a general impulse from below towards the acquisition of municipal status and the adoption of the Roman outlook.[62] Consequently the tendency grew to choose as patrons local people whose interest might be expected to be more lasting than that of a visiting official. During the first century, it is true, before many Africans became prominent at Rome, the towns of Africa Proconsularis frequently chose Romans who were in the province in an official capacity. It would seem that the more important places tried to enlist the patronate of the proconsuls—Assuras (no. 4) was a *colonia Iulia*, Utica (nos. 15 and 18) and Hippo Regius (nos. 13 and 14) *municipia*, and Lepcis Magna (nos. 120–131, 134 and 154) an old and wealthy Punic city—while smaller communities chose persons of lower rank. Thus we have a former military tribune of the *Legio III Augusta* as patron of four native *civitates* (nos. 5–8). The locations of two of them are still unknown, but Apisa Maius and Siagu were within the former Punic sphere of influence and had a sufficient degree of urban civilisation for some local autonomy to be granted them. The *pagus Gurzensis*, a unit consisting of three closely associated *civitates stipendiariae*, could admittedly claim a proconsul as patron in 12 B.C. (no. 2); but being in the region of Hadrumetum, it had long been open to Punic influence, and as early as A.D. 65 produced a Roman knight.[63]

The *pagus* of Thugga, with its local *patroni*, was quite a different case.[64] In the first century the town of Thugga was a native community with a constitution of Punic type. Alongside it was the *pagus Thuggensis*, which, in addition to its native inhabitants, contained the estates of a number of Roman citizens who were *coloni Carthaginienses*. Some of these citizens, perhaps those who spent more time in the district than at Carthage, were chosen as *patroni* by the *pagus*, which doubtless considered its colonist inhabitants as being virtually officials.[65]

[58] *TRSB* 126–9. [59] *ibid.*, 136, 203.
[60] *ibid.*, 202. [61] *ibid.*, 120, 129, 203–4.
[62] Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 197 and 200; a generalisation applying to all the settled parts of the Empire, particularly true in Africa.
[63] *C* 69.
[64] *TRSB* 58–61, 213 ff.; Dessau, *C* p. 2615.
[65] In the second century, a magistrate of Carthage and patron of a similarly constituted *pagus* at Uchi Maius, was honoured for his *abstinentia* (no. 51); this praise of a patron's virtue looks forward to the honorifics of the third and fourth centuries. See above p. 46.

During the second century and the first part of the third, when the number of influential Africans increased very rapidly, the communities of the proconsular province, and to some extent Numidia, turned naturally to them as patrons. They are discussed below (p. 52–3).

About the middle of the third century the position changed again. Though Africa suffered less than most provinces from actual devastation, prosperity was damaged by the financial disorders which accompanied the civil wars. Later, particularly in the fourth century, the imperial authority became less and less able to curb the extortions of its agents. To have a governor or other official as a patron might now be some protection to a town against the worst excesses. The earliest reference (no. 209) to the virtues [66] of a governor who was also patron is from the time of the Severi, whose fiscal policy presumably weighed as heavily on the African towns as those elsewhere, despite their connection with Africa, and many subsequent references to *integritas* and *iustitia* are found.[67] There seems also to have been no doubt about the propriety of sending governors to provinces with which they had family connections, and we naturally find such men as patrons. Q. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonius, certainly of African origin, was *consularis* of Byzacena in 321–322 and patron of six towns in the province.[68] The Ceionii, one of the most notable fourth-century families, may well have been of African origin; they certainly had estates in Africa Proconsularis.[69] Ceionius Iulianus, proconsul of Africa between 326 and 333, was patron of Bulla Regia and Madauros (nos. 105 and 110), and Ceionius Italicus, *consularis* of Numidia between 349 and 353, was patron of Milev and Cirta (nos. 216 and 217).

No governors are found as patrons in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis after the accession of Valentinian I, though they are recorded on many inscriptions as ordering or dedicating public works, on which information about their patronate would have been given if it had existed.[70] As there is no clear evidence to account for this sudden cessation, any explanation can only be hypothetical. It is possible that the development of the office of *defensor civitatis* [71] by Valentinian appeared to take away the need for having governors as patrons. *Defensores* were to be chosen from former officials (*decuriones* were excluded) and in two constitutions of Valentinian I the word *patronus* is actually used as a synonym for *defensor*.[72] (It should, however, be said that we have no actual example of a *defensor* in an African town, even in the detailed account by Ammianus Marcellinus of the efforts of Lepcis Magna to obtain redress against the Count Romanus.)[73] The general tone of the legislation of Valentinian was, besides, directed against the usurpation of legitimate authority by those whom the constitutions usually

[66] 'ob insignem erga cives benevolentiam et iustitiam'.

[67] See above p. 46.

[68] Nos. 99–104; see *PIR*² I, 197. His son (or brother) held three appointments in Africa. (Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des Provinces Africaines*, ii, 42.)

[69] SHA, *vita Albini* 4. 1–2 connects them with Clodius Albinus, said to be from Hadrumetum, see N. H. Baynes, *Historia Augusta*, 45–8; certainly fictitious. Albinus' origin from Hadrumetum is now doubtful (*PIR*² II, 281) but it was presumably believed in the circles which produced the Augustan History; therefore nothing incongruous was felt in giving the fourth-century Ceionii an African background. See also *AE* 1911, 217, a building at Mascula dedicated by Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus, *consularis Numidia* 364–7, 'ad splendorem tam patriae quam provinciae'. Their estates were at Bir Tersas (*C* 25990, dated *c.* 365). Ceionius Apronianus, *c.v.*, patron and almost certainly a native of Cillium in 312, was perhaps of the family.

[70] e.g. Numidia; *C* 2388, 20156, 19852, 18701, *AE* 1911, 217 (364–7, the same governor in five different towns), *C* 20157–8 (367–75), *C* 18328 (379–83); Africa Proconsularis; *ILAlg* 2101 (364), *C* 1782 (366–7), *ILAlg* 472 (374), *C* 14398 (376), *C* 1296 (379–83), *C* 23968 (383–8), *ILAlg* 2107 (399–400), etc.

[71] See Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* ii, 174 ff. [72] *Cod. Theod.* i, 29, 1 and 4.

[73] Amm. Marc. xxviii, 6, 1–29.

call *potentes*; and while the *patrocinia vicorum* was the greater danger, the protection of *curiales* by the powerful from their oppressive public duties was a fact, and legislated against by Valentinian.[74] Thus there may well have arisen a feeling that the patronate of governors was undesirable. The few governor-patrons known to be later than 364 appear after the death of Valentinian I (nos. 153, 155, 156, 241), and there seems to have been a clear reason for this in the examples from Tripolitania, namely the recognition by the new government of the injustice which the province had suffered at the hands of Count Romanus.[75]

Patrons of local origin naturally came with the growth of Romanisation and the influx of Africans into the imperial service. It has often been noted that this happened later in North Africa than in Spain and Southern Gaul,[76] and it is thus not surprising that only two African *patroni* of even equestrian rank (nos. 11 and 17) are known from the first century A.D.; indeed one of these, C. Aufustius Macrinus, *praef. fabr.*, patron of the *civitas* of Gurza in 65, has his local origin ('Gurzensis ex Africa') referred to on the *tessera patronatus* recording his adoption. This is a unique instance, and doubtless testifies to the pride felt by himself and his town in the relationship. From the beginning of the second century, however, Africans were increasingly influential at Rome until they became the dominant Western provincial group with the accession of Septimius Severus. Some of the earliest to reach the highest rank came from Cirta and its dependent territory, including Q. Pactumeius Fronto, 'consul ex Africa primus' (A.D. 80).[77] P. Pactumeius Clemens, probably his grandson, was patron of Cirta (no. 172) shortly after 138. Q. Lollius Urbicus, later governor of Britain, was patron about 135 of his native town Tiddis (no. 171), in the territory of Cirta. The city's most distinguished product, M. Cornelius Fronto, became patron of Calama (no. 25) just as he was becoming prominent at Rome. Two of those whom he recommended as patrons for his native city were prominent Africans—Servilius Silanus (cos. II 188?) of Hippo Regius, and Postumius Festus (later *procos. Asiae*), from some other Numidian city. Few other cities in Africa, and certainly none in Numidia, could have claimed the services of such eminent persons. At a later date, some other Numidian towns provide patrons of high rank. M. Valerius Maximianus, legate of Numidia in 183, was patron, with his wife, of Diana Veteranorum (no. 192), where his father had been a *decurio*. In the early third century we have P. Flavius Pudens Pomponianus, *procos. Cret. et Cyr.*, a native and patron of Thamugadi (no. 207).

In Mauretania, the areas of Romanisation were restricted and scattered, and the number of inscriptions referring to *patroni* is likewise small. As might be expected, one of the coastal towns colonised by Augustus provides the earliest example of a prominent local man as patron—Sex. Cornelius Dexter, *procurator Asiae*, at Saldae (no. 228). Probably in the third century, C. Fulcinius Fabius Maximus, *leg. procos. Baeticae*, native of Cartenna, was patron of another Mauretanian town, Gunugu (no. 237).

Africa Proconsularis naturally provides a number of such patrons. M. Paccius Silvanus, of consular rank, patron of the *pagus* of Thugga shortly after 161 (no. 34), was connected with the African family of the Pullaieni, which had estates near Uchi

[74] *Cod. Theod.* xii, 1, 76. See also F. de Zulueta, *Patronage in the Later Empire*, 17 ff.
[75] Amm. Marc. xxviii, 6, 28.
[76] Sherwin-White, *op. cit.* 197.
[77] *C* 7058 and *CIL* VI 2059.

Maius,[78] and which had already provided a patron of the *pagus et civitas* of Thugga (no. 24). Sex. Caecilius Crescens Volusianus, *ab epistulis* to Marcus Aurelius, was a native and patron of Thuburbo Minus, as was his son of consular rank, *c.* 190 (nos. 35 and 45). In the third century, probably between 222 and 235, a deputy praetorian prefect, C. Attius Alcimus Felicianus, was patron of his birthplace, Turca (no. 65); about the same time C. Attius Cornelianus, doubtless a relative, praetorian prefect, was patron of Uchi Maius (no. 66). It seems likely that these two men, who had long and distinguished equestrian careers, profited from the African connection of the Severi. This must have been true of C. Rossius Vitulus, patron of his native town Bulla Regia between 209 and 211, who had accompanied Septimius in his march on Rome in 193 (no. 61).

It seems worth while considering the cases of some prominent patrons who were probably African. The inscriptions show that some patrons of high rank, not holding official positions in Africa, have their African origin mentioned in an honorific inscription,[79] some are known from other sources to be African,[80] while the origin of others is not mentioned and is unknown. The African inscriptions recording the last two types are similar in every way, and it would seem a reasonable supposition that some patrons of high rank, holding no African command, who were thus honoured, were of African origin.[81]

As has been said, men of African origin gave way to officials as patrons from about the middle of the third century, and Africans such as Q. Aradius Valerius Populonius (no. 99), who were also patrons, held the position at least partly because of their official post in an African province. One reason for this change may well be found in the adverse political situation at the time, but it should be noted that there seems to have been a decline in the number of Africans who made a career at Rome; an indication of this can be found in the fact that in the detailed narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus only two Africans [82] of any importance (apart from members of the Ceionian family) are mentioned.

Curatores rei publicae are found as patrons in all the African provinces. It has recently been shown [83] that these officials appeared later in Africa than elsewhere, the earliest known being from Sufetula, dated 196, and that we need not necessarily take their appearance to denote a decline in African municipal prosperity. However, as time went on, the work of the *curatores* bulked larger in municipal life, and while their authority was chiefly exercised in the control of municipal finance, the desirability from the townspeople's point of view of their being well-disposed was obvious. The motives which dictated the choice of *curatores* as patrons were thus akin to those which led to the re-appearance of governors in the same position during the third century, particularly as some *curatores* were of senatorial, even consular rank.[84] This obtained up to the reign of Constantine, after which the post of *curator* ceased to be an official appointment and became rather the highest municipal office, to which decurions were elected by their colleagues. Few of these are found as patrons (nos. 113, 224, 240), and none after the

[78] *C* 26415.
[79] See references for nos. 17, 41, 54, 61, 65, 66, 68.
[80] Nos. 171, 172, 25, 192, 195. See also *PIR*² I, 3, for the African origin of nos. 35, 45, 46.
[81] e.g. nos. 31, 32, 40, 43, 55, 57, 86, 87, 88.
[82] Amm. Marc. xxvii, 6, 14; xxviii, 1, 25 (Eupraxius, *quaestor*) xxi, 10, 5 (Sex. Aurelius Victor, the historian).
[83] Lucas, *art. cit.* 72 f.
[84] Nos. 75, 79, 80, 144, 214.

early years of Valentinian I, though many *curatores* of the late fourth century are known.[85] Although it is clear that as time went on the *curatores* encroached on the powers of the magistrates and town councils, in the fourth century their own position deteriorated with the much closer supervision exercised by governors from the time of Diocletian onwards. This is well exemplified in Africa in the maintenance of public buildings; in the fourth century it was nearly always the governor who initiated the work, the *curator* who saw to its execution.[86] If, as Seeck maintains,[87] the position of the *curatores* was still further lowered by the fact that the *defensores* became in effect the heads of their municipalities, their disappearance as patrons may be accounted for. This must, however, be uncertain, as must the similar hypothesis about the disappearance of governors as patrons about the same date.

The last group of patrons to be considered consists of those who were members of the municipal aristocracy not known to have been active outside the province. Most of them were members of the city council of Carthage exercising patronage over communities of low standing near which they presumably resided or had estates. The position of such persons in the *pagus* of Thugga in the first century has already been noted. In the second century this *pagus* is found most frequently in association with the native *civitas*, though retaining its pre-eminent position, always coming first in references to the *pagus et civitas*. Almost all patrons held the position over both *pagus* and *civitas*, and some were drawn from among magistrates of Carthage (nos. 23, 24, 39, 52). A similar position obtained at Agbia (a *civitas*) where a *vir egregius* and magistrate of Carthage was patron (no. 30) between 138 and 161. This man's father, also patron (no. 29), held Agbia to be '*res publica sua*'. During the second century also, the *pagus* of Thibaris chose as patron a man who was *magister pagi* and *decurio* of Carthage (no. 50), and the *pagus* of Uchi Maius likewise chose a magistrate of Carthage (no. 51). Naturally enough, wealthy members of the native *civitates*, with the citizenship, became almost indistinguishable from their neighbours, the *coloni Carthaginienses*; A. Gabinius Datus (the elder) held no more than the flaminate *divi Augusti* at Thugga, but was patron of the *pagus et civitas* (no. 21) and influential enough to receive a dedication from the *conductores praediorum regionis Thuggensis*.[88] One of his sons became a magistrate of Carthage and a Roman knight.[89] Even in the third century men who held magistracies or priesthoods occur; two of these (nos. 64 and 67) were *curatores rei publicae* at Furnos—Q. Paccius Victor Candidianus, *magister sacrorum Cererum* at Carthage, exceptionally a native of the town over which he had charge, and C. Octavius Felix Octavianus, a *decurio* of Carthage. Q. Appaeus Felix Flavianus, native and patron of Gori (no. 95), was a *sacerdos urbis Romae aeternae*, the only known instance in Africa. It is unlikely that the cult was celebrated elsewhere than at Carthage.

Other patrons of municipal rank are rare. The reason would seem to be that in the proconsular province there were soon enough influential Africans, who could be of far more use than a mere *decurio*, while in Numidia and Mauretania the advantages of having governors as patrons were equally apparent. In fact, most of the patrons who were *decuriones* date from after the middle of the third century. It would be difficult, in view of the depression of their status at this time, to maintain that *decuriones* could

[85] See the list in Lucas *art. cit.* 58.
[86] *ibid.* 71 ff.
[87] *op. cit.* ii, 174–175.
[88] *ILA* 568.
[89] *ILT* 1513; no. 23.

exercise much effective patronage. Most of them are recorded in connection with the undertaking of public building,[90] and the prospect of being honoured as a patron was probably an incentive when the wealth and public spirit of the second century had disappeared. Certainly, we have Aelius Iulianus, native and *ex curatore* of Thamugadi, given a *tabula patronatus c.* 367 'ob reparationem civitatis' (no. 224) and a fourth-century patron, *flamen perpetuus* of Thubursicu Numidarum, similarly honoured for carrying out public building (no. 119).

Lastly may be mentioned patrons with imperial connections. None of the important members of the family of Augustus are found as patrons in Africa, as they are in Italy and Gallia Narbonensis; [91] but L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, proconsul in 12 B.C., patron of the *pagus* of Gurza (no. 2), was certainly an influential person; [92] he was married to the elder Antonia, daughter of Octavia and M. Antonius. C. Rubellius Blandus, proconsul in 35–36 and patron of Lepcis Magna (no. 122), was of undistinguished origin but had married Iulia, the granddaughter of Tiberius, after the fall of Seianus, to whom she had been betrothed. Africa provides the only other example of members (admittedly unimportant) of other dynasties as patrons. Q. Servilius Pudens (no. 32) was the husband of Ceionia Plautia, sister of Verus, and was patron of Calama; their son became patron of Bisica (no. 33) about the same time. Vibia Aurelia Sabina, sister of Commodus, was patron of Thibilis (no. 208), the birthplace of her husband L. Antistius Burrus (cos. 181); despite the latter's execution in 187 on a charge of conspiracy, she survived, was honoured under Severus, and was *patrona* of Calama in 211 at the earliest (no. 63). It is possible that Iulia Mamaea was *patrona* of Lepcis Magna (no. 138), but a *lacuna* in the inscription makes this uncertain.

B. H. Warmington

[90] e.g. nos. 84, 85, 110, 114, 116, 117.

[91] e.g. Augustus (*CIL* X, 3826, Italy; *CIL* XII, 136, 145, Gallia Narbonensis); Agrippa (*CIL* IX, 4677, Italy; *CIL* II, 1527, Spain); Tiberius, before his adoption (*CIL* II, 1113, 1529, Spain).

[92] R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, 421–2.

OASIS FORTS OF *LEGIO III AUGUSTA* ON THE ROUTES TO THE FEZZAN

(Plates X–XIII)

THE two well-preserved Roman fortresses to be described in this paper have been known for many years. They were first brought to European notice by the British-sponsored geographical expeditions of the nineteenth century, when Tripoli was the spring-board for repeated attempts to find a route into Central Africa. Although important discoveries have been made in one of these forts (Bu Ngem) in more recent years, no detailed ground-plans have previously been published.

The following notes and illustrations [1] are primarily intended to fill this lacuna in the documentation of the African *limes*; but it is hoped that they may also serve to increase our knowledge of early third-century trends in Roman military architecture. The European frontiers of the Roman Empire have yielded, and are still yielding, numerous examples of first- and second-century forts, and equally numerous examples of the forts erected during the later-third and early-fourth centuries, when barbarian invasion threatened the whole Roman world.

The Severan period, so notable in many aspects of Roman art and archaeology, is relatively poorly represented in the sphere of military architecture. The great fortress of *Legio II Parthica*, built near Rome by Septimius Severus, is too obstructed by medieval and modern Albano to be very informative; [2] and the latest discoveries on that site await definitive publication.[3] We must therefore look farther afield for well-preserved forts built *ab initio* under the Severi; and Africa is in this as in so many other matters a rewarding area of enquiry.

The forts with which we are here concerned mark the southernmost limit of Roman territorial occupation in Africa west of the Nile valley. They lie close to the thirtieth parallel, and together with Ghadámes—where a similar fort must once have existed—form a straight line marking the theoretical boundary between Roman-controlled Tripolitania and the kingdom of the Garamantes, who occupied the scattered oases of the Fezzan.

Roman policy towards the Fezzan is only summarily recorded in history. The campaigns of Cornelius Balbus [4] in about 20 B.C. appeared, at the time, to have crushed the Garamantes decisively; but by A.D. 68 that warlike race was again in

[1] I must here express my indebtedness to Lt.-Col. P. J. Sandison, Sudan Defence Force, and to Capt J. James, 14/20 King's Hussars, for enabling me to visit Bu Ngem in 1947 and Gheria el-Garbia in 1953; to Air Headquarters, R.A.F. Malta, for arranging an air reconnaissance of these sites in 1950, and allowing me to fly in a Lancaster aircraft (pilot: Fl./Lieut. Hillier) to obtain air photographs; to Mr. Duncan Black for the restored elevation of the main gateway of Gheria el-Garbia; and to Cpl. Day, 14/20 Hussars, and the Department of Antiquities of Tripolitania for some of the photographs here reproduced.

[2] G. Lugli, 'Castra Albana I–II', *Ausonia* ix (1919), pp. 211–65, and x (1921), pp. 210–59. Recent air photographs suggest that the plan of the legionary fort reproduced as pl. IX in the first of these articles is slightly inaccurate, the outline of the walls being more regular than is shown. The overall dimensions of the fort are 435 × 230 metres.

[3] The *Porta Praetoria* has been fully revealed by war damage. See *Fasti Archaeologici* i (1946), no. 1932.

[4] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V, 5, 35–7. Cf. P. Romanelli in *Rendiconti Acc. Lincei*, 1950, pp. 472–92.

condition to invade the coastal region, and to necessitate the punitive expedition led by Valerius Festus [5] in the following year. Thereafter the Garamantes appear to have behaved, for a time, in a manner more befitting their status as client kingdom, for it is recorded that Julius Maternus (not otherwise known, but probably *legatus augusti pro praetore* in Numidia) marched to Garama, and there joined forces with the King of the Garamantes in a four-month expedition to the lands of the Ethiopians, 'near Agysimba, where the rhinoceros is found'.[6]

Whilst, therefore, the Romans cannot be accused of lack of interest in the interior of Africa, their closer acquaintance with the terrain, following these expeditions, did not persuade them of the utility of extending their territorial occupation into the Fezzan. The only Roman monument hitherto found south of the thirtieth parallel is an isolated mausoleum, which still stands near Germa (ancient Garama) and which was probably the tomb of a merchant engaged in importing the Roman pottery and glass often found in Garamantic tombs.[7]

We next hear of campaigns in this part of Africa during the reign of Septimius Severus, who 'by defeating very warlike tribes rendered the Tripolis, his birth-place, completely safe'.[8] On this occasion there is no specific mention of the Garamantes, but one may suspect that they had once more been making mischief; and it is surely significant that the forts with which we are here concerned were erected in the first half of the third century on the three main routes leading from Roman into Garamantic territory. Whether earlier outposts existed on the same sites, we cannot say; but there is no trace of them, apart from a possible vestige of an earlier ditched camp at Gheria el-Garbia.

The fact that Ghadámes, Gheria el-Garbia, and Bu Ngem form a straight line on the map is, in the main, an accident. There are no indications of any minor defensive works in the vast desert areas that separate them, and their own siting was clearly conditioned by the proximity of strategically-positioned oases. The oasis of Ghadámes is still important to-day, whilst that of Gheria el-Garbia could be so, were it not plagued by malaria. Bu Ngem is the smallest and most wretched of the three oases, but intrusive sand-dunes may have caused a decline in its size and amenities since Roman times.

Bu Ngem (Pls. X, *a*; XI; fig. 1)

The oasis of Bu Ngem lies 200 kilometres due south of Cape Misurata (the ancient *Cephalae promontorium*, marking the western edge of the Syrtic Gulf), and occupies the bed of the Wadi Bey el-Kaib, a tributary of the Wadi Bey el-Kebir. It consists of some 150 palm-trees, and about twenty wells, from 5 to 15 metres deep, most of which yield a rather unpalatable water. Here, in 1843, the Turks established a small fort, which the Italians reconstructed during their occupations of 1914 and 1927–42. For all its inadequacy, Bu Ngem is the main staging-point between the

[5] *Ibid.* V, 5, 38. *Solinus* 29, 6. The 'iter praeter caput saxi' followed by Festus cannot be identified with certainty. It may well have been the central route, Tripoli–Mizda–Gheriat.

[6] Marinus of Tyre, cited by Ptolemy, I, 8, 4–9; I, 10, 2. Agysimba cannot be precisely located.

[7] G. Caputo, 'Scavi Sahariani', *Monumenti Antichi* xli (1951), pp. 201–442.

[8] Spartianus, *vita Severi*, 18, 3. Cf. Aurelius Victor, *Caes*, 20, 19.

oases of the Jofra (where lie the villages of Hon, Socna, and Waddan) and the Tripolitanian coast.[9]

The Roman fort, which lies about a kilometre west of the now derelict Italian redoubt, is in a desolate area swept by mobile sand-dunes; but its outlines are clear both from the air (Pl. X, *a*) and on the ground. When Captain G. F. Lyon[10] visited the site in 1819 there was more to be seen than there is to-day, the high-standing gateway-towers having later been stripped of their upper parts to build the Turkish fort. Lyon's drawing (Pl. XI, *a*) of one of these towers is therefore an important record, and the surviving remains indicate that we may have confidence in its accuracy. Cagnat[11] published a sketch-plan of the fort compiled by the explorer Duveyrier, who visited Bu Ngem in 1869; but whilst its proportions are correct, the details of the gateways and curtain-wall are misleading.

In plan (Fig. 1), Bu Ngem is a rectangular fortress of orthodox pre-Diocletianic type, measuring 91 × 136 metres externally, and having rounded corners with, presumably, internal corner-turrets. As is usual in such forts, the gateways in the two longer sides are set east of centre, so as to allow the cross-street to skirt the front of a centrally-placed *principia* or headquarters-building. Three of the gates are of identical pattern, with a single arch flanked by rectangular towers; but the eastern gate (Pl. XI, *b*) is larger and has the side walls of the towers cut away, a feature which occurs also at Gheria el-Garbia.

The exposed faces of the gateways and their towers are all faced with blocks of a hard black limestone, drafted at the edges, but left extremely rough towards the centres. This is merely a skin concealing walling of limestone rubble and mortar, which same material was used, with an exterior rendering of plaster, in the curtain-walls of the fort. As Lyon's drawing shows, this ashlar facing was confined to the lower part of the fort gate, the upper storey being built throughout in rubble and mortar; but we need not accept Lyon's view that this superstructure is of early Islamic date, for Gheria el-Garbia provides an analogy which can hardly be post-Roman. In the case of Bu Ngem, however, there may have been a change of plan during the Roman period, for the drawing of 1819 shows two arched windows, later blocked up, in the ashlar facing of the tower only a little lower than the windows of the upper storey. One might be tempted to conjecture that the superstructure belongs, as at Gheria, to the reign of Severus Alexander, the original fort having had lower gate-towers; but Turkish demolition makes it impossible to check this. One thing is completely certain, that the fortress and its gates, as originally designed, were the work of the legate Quintus Anicius Faustus in the year 200–1.[12]

Air photographs show that the interior of the fortress was divided up in orthodox fashion. The site of the *principia* is marked by high-standing orthostats, some provided with projecting brackets. Immediately to its north are the remains of a bath-house, in which Italian soldiers found in 1927[13] the well-known metrical inscription of Quintus

[9] Under the Caramanli rulers of Tripoli, in the early nineteenth century, Bu Ngem was recognised as the northern boundary of the Fezzan, and slaves who died beyond this point during their journey to the coast were held to be the loss of the Pasha of Tripoli, and not of the ruler of the Fezzan. G. F. Lyon, *Narrative of travels in Northern Africa in* 1818–20 (London, 1821), p. 66.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 65–6, with plate.

[11] R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, pp. 555 *et seq.*

[12] *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* = *IRT* (Rome, 1952), nos. 914–16.

[13] R. Bartoccini, 'La fortezza romana di Bu Ngem', *Africa Italiana* ii (1928), pp. 50–8. *IRT*, nos. 918–19.

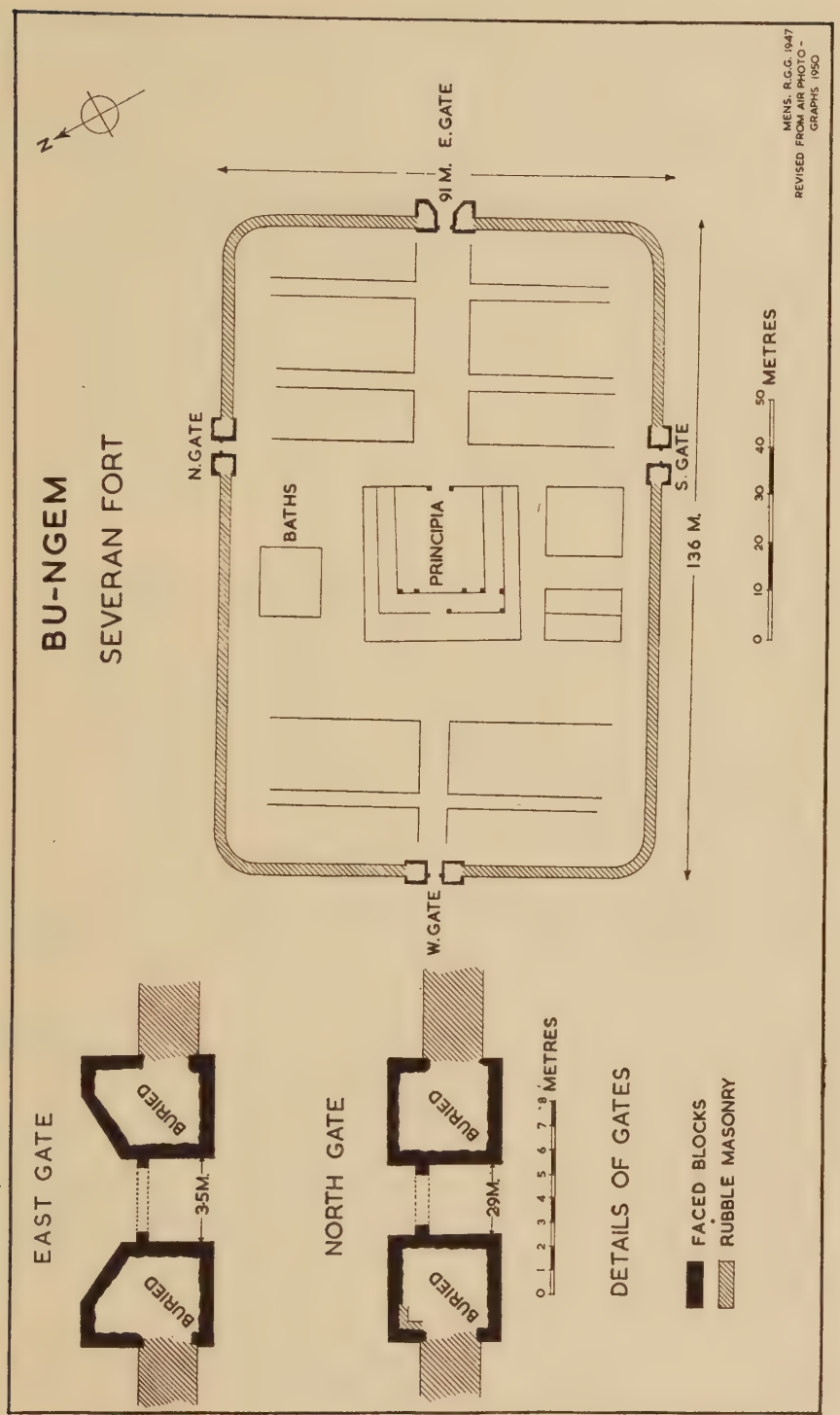

BU-NGEM
SEVERAN FORT
N
N.GATE
W.GATE
E.GATE
S.GATE
91 M.
136 M.
BATHS
PRINCIPIA
0 10 20 30 40 50 METRES
MENS. R.G.G. 1947
REVISED FROM AIR PHOTO-GRAPHS 1950
EAST GATE
BURIED
35M.
NORTH GATE
29M.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 METRES
DETAILS OF GATES
FACED BLOCKS
RUBBLE MASONRY

FIG. 1.

Avidius Quintianus, a centurion of Legio III Augusta, extolling the goddess Salus. Another inscription [14] found in the same building records its erection in 201–2 by a *vexillatio* of the same legion. The bath-house was roofed with barrel-vaults constructed from bottle-shaped terra-cotta tubes, which were interlocked, neck to base, to the required diameter, and then filled with liquid cement. Such lightweight and utilitarian vaulting occurs also in a bath-house adjoining the theatre of Sabratha.

Air survey shows scattered buildings, probably of *canabae*, extending for 150 metres to the north-west and north-east of the fort walls; and a dedication to Jupiter Hammon,[15] found a kilometre to the north, suggests the presence of a small shrine. To the south there was an extensive cemetery, which has yielded two funerary inscriptions, neither of distinctively military character. From what source the fort and its baths were supplied with water is uncertain. A well noted by Lyon and by Duveyrier near the south gateway, and now no longer visible, can hardly have been adequate for all purposes. Three kilometres to the north-east of the fort lies a small lake set in a deep natural hollow mantled with lush vegetation; and it is not impossible that these waters were utilised by the Roman garrison at Bu Ngem.

Gheria el-Garbia (Pls. X, *b*; XII; XIII, *a*, *b*; figs. 2–4)

In the region of the Gheriat, some 300 kilometres due south of Tripoli, there are a number of oases of varying sizes, the two largest being known as Gheria el-Garbia ('the western') and Gheria esh-Shergia ('the eastern'). These oases lie at the heads of tributary wadis that run eventually into the great Wadi Zemzem, and to their west is the desolate rock-plateau of the Hammada el-Hamra. In antiquity, as to-day, travellers heading southwards from Tripoli towards the Fezzan found in the Gheriat their last major water-points and their last chance of obtaining dates, cereals, and vegetables, before crossing the bare Hammada.

The eastern Gheria, lying on the modern motor-track to the Fezzan, is the better known of the two main oases, and it was there that the Italian colonial garrison of 1928–43 established a large redoubt. The western Gheria, although larger and more populous, is too malarial for European habitation; but this fact does not seem to have influenced the Romans, who established there their largest fortress in the whole of Tripolitania.

Before describing this fortress, some reference must be made to the very much smaller Roman fortified building at Gheria esh-Shergia, which has sometimes been confused with it.[16] It stands on the edge of a steep cliff overlooking the oasis and is incorporated within the walls of the modern redoubt. Adaptation for modern military use has removed all traces of its interior walls, but the outer faces of its main walls are well-preserved on three sides, and form a rectangle of 38 × 19 metres. The latter dimension may originally have been as great as 25 metres, as the eastern wall has toppled over the cliff, and its precise line is uncertain. The original entrance into the building must also have been in this lost wall, for the masonry on the other three sides rises uninterruptedly to a maximum height of about seven metres.

[14] *IRT*, no. 913.
[15] *Ibid.*, no. 920.
[16] Cf. P. Romanelli, *Il limes romano in Africa* (Rome, 1939), p. 13 and pl. IV*B*. Another small fortified building adjoins the small oasis of Mago, seven kilometres north-west of Gheria el-Garbia.

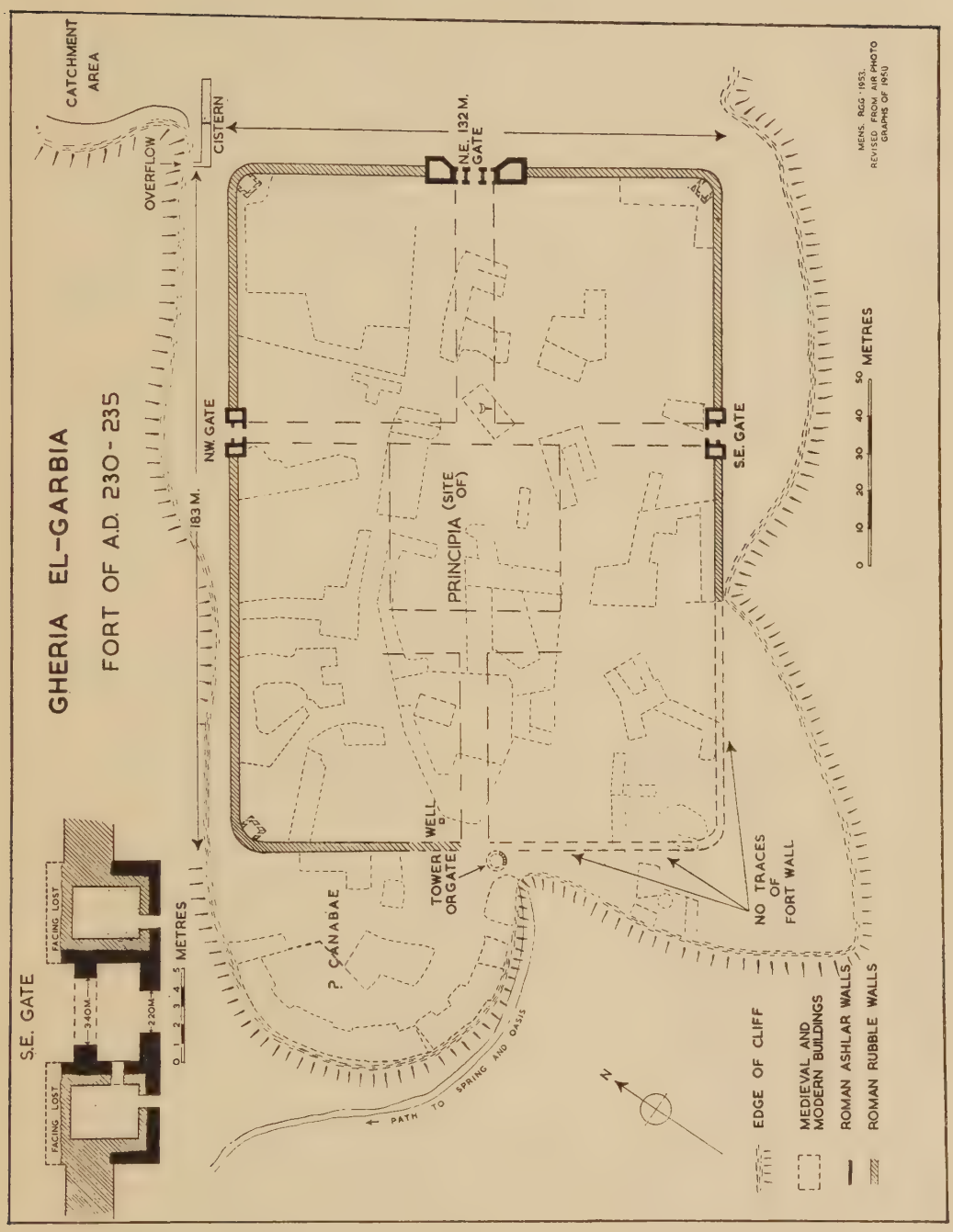

GHERIA EL-GARBIA
FORT OF A.D. 230-235
CATCHMENT AREA
OVERFLOW
CISTERN
183 M.
NW. GATE
NE. 132 M. GATE
SE. GATE
PRINCIPIA (SITE OF)
WELL
TOWER
ORGATE
P. CANABAE
NO TRACES OF FORT WALL
PATH TO SPRING AND OASIS
N
METRES
0 10 20 30 40 50
MENS. RGG 1953.
REVISED FROM AIR PHOTOGRAPHS OF 1950
S.E. GATE
FACING LOST
FACING LOST
340M
220M
0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES
EDGE OF CLIFF
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN BUILDINGS
ROMAN ASHLAR WALLS
ROMAN RUBBLE WALLS

FIG. 2.

These outer walls are faced externally with faultlessly cut and coursed blocks of local limestone, of varying heights up to 70 cm.; and at each of the two surviving exterior angles there are curiously inset rounded corners (Pl. XIII, *c*), a feature that occurs in two other similar structures in inner Tripolitania.[17] The inner faces of these main walls, and probably also the interior partition walls of the building, were of rubble masonry, which has almost entirely fallen away.

There is no evidence of the date of this Roman fortified building in the eastern oasis; but it is unlikely to have come into existence before the great fortress in the western oasis was in being (A.D. 230–5), and its construction is far superior to that normally encountered in fourth-century fortified farms of the Tripolitanian interior. One may therefore provisionally assign it to the third century. Its role was evidently to control the Shergia oasis, but whether its garrison was of regular troops, on detachment duty from Gheria el-Garbia, or whether resident *limitanei* occupied it, is quite uncertain. Its high walls, indicating a two-storey lay-out, and its restricted dimensions justify us in classing it, architecturally, as a fortified farm rather than a fort.[18]

The fortress in the western oasis is of very different, and more orthodox type, and may be regarded as the major military monument in the whole *limes Tripolitanus*. Its character has, however, been somewhat obscured by the medieval and modern village, of Berber type, that occupies its ruins. Nineteenth-century travellers, beginning with Heinrich Barth[19] in 1850, were mainly impressed by its fine triple-arched gateway (Pl. XII, *a–c*; fig. 3), and were surprised by the absence of any similar ashlar masonry to indicate the outlines of the fort itself. Cagnat, writing in 1912 from Barth's description, concluded that 'Le reste de la fortification a complètement disparu sous les sables ou a été employé par les indigènes à la construction du village voisin'.[20] A flight over the site in the summer of 1950 proved the falsity of this conclusion, and showed that the modern village (now almost completely abandoned) occupied the rectangle formed by the fort walls (Pl. X, *b*). Closer inspection on the ground in the spring of 1953 revealed the traces of two or three other gateways, thus enabling the general outlines of the fortress to be established.

The fortress (Fig. 2) is exactly twice the size of that at Bu Ngem, its external dimensions being 183 × 132 metres. It occupies a narrow spur running out from the main plateau towards the oasis, and the ground falls away with a very steep cliff on all except the north-east side. On this side is situated the triple-arched gateway observed by so many previous travellers, which has the inner flanks of its projecting towers cut away as at Bu Ngem. One of these towers is still standing to almost its original height, its upper storey being pierced by round-headed windows in the two surviving faces. A similar window must certainly have existed in the third face, so as to have commanded the curtain-wall.

The main façade with its triple arches is impeccably constructed and comparable with the finest Severan work at Lepcis Magna, but the lower parts of the high-standing

[17] In the well-preserved fortified building of Gasr el-Banat, in the Wadi Nfed (D. E. L. Haynes, *Ancient Tripolitania* (Tripoli, 1946), pl. 20); and in a very ruinous building at Faschia, in the Wadi Zemzem.

[18] These fortified farms, so common in Tripolitania, are discussed summarily in *Journal of Roman Studies* xl (1950), pp. 34–7.

[19] H. Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa* (London, 1857), i, pp. 126–31. H. Vischer (*Across the Sahara*, London, 1910, pp. 78–80) gives a description and a photograph, showing that the ruins have changed little in the last half-century.

[20] Cagnat, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

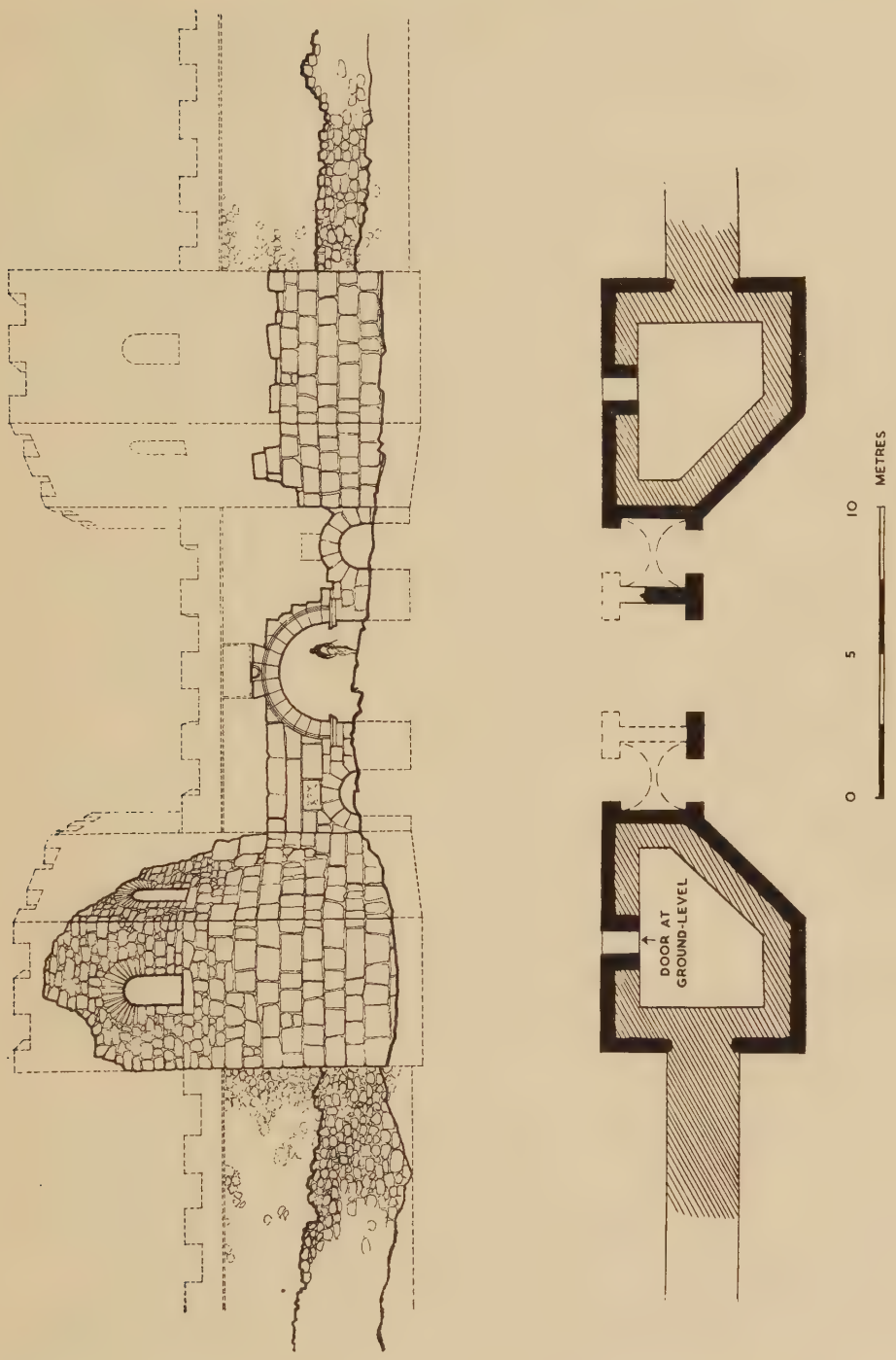


FIG. 3.

south-east tower, although of identical stone, are much more roughly coursed. The upper storey is faced externally as well as internally (Pl. XIII, *a*) in small masonry; but, although a rebuild may reasonably be suspected, one must be chary of leaping too rapidly to this conclusion so long as the base of the tower remains buried in rubble and not available for inspection. The construction of the gateway arches must have required the presence, on this remote spot, of very skilled masons. It is not impossible that these artisans were sent down to carry out the more intricate work, leaving the completion of the building-programme to the resident garrison. A similar explanation might also be applied to the gateway at Bu Ngem, as depicted in Lyon's drawing of 1819. Certainly climatic conditions alone would hardly have caused the collapse of a gateway-tower so solidly built, and one may doubt whether the barbarian tribes of the Fezzan would have undertaken any very arduous demolitions. That restorations of some sort were carried out at Gheria el-Garbia in the reign of Gordian III is, however, attested by an imperfectly-copied inscription found there in 1914;[21] and the more obvious explanation may, possibly, be the correct one.

The other gateways of the fortress call for little comment. The north-west and south-east gates have been stripped of their outer facing-blocks and are incorporated in post-Roman dwellings, which explains why they were not noticed by previous visitors to the site. A plan of the south-east gate is reproduced to show its general form, and the north-west gate appears to have been of similar type. On the south-west side, towards the oasis, a circular tower, of small-block construction but probably of Roman date, may mark the site of the fourth gateway; but the area is too encumbered with post-Roman structures for certainty, and in any case there are reasons for doubting whether the fort wall was ever completed in its southern sector.

The curtain-wall, 2·5 metres broad, is of very inferior construction by comparison with the gateways; but we have already noted a similar situation at Bu Ngem. The only part of its course still standing high is at the northern corner of the fort (Pl. XIII, *b*), where there was evidently an internal turret, a round-headed arch appearing above the projecting cornice that seems to mark the level of the rampart-walk. Below this cornice the fort wall is faced with irregular stones of medium size, uncoursed and thickly pointed; whilst above it the facing is of even smaller stones, and very similar to that in the tower of the main gateway. It is this similarity that most strengthens the view that the latter tower belongs to the original lay-out of the fort, rather than to a reconstruction, for there is no reason to suppose that the rounded northern corner of the fort has also been completely rebuilt.

The most puzzling feature at Gheria el-Garbia is the apparent absence of any fort wall at the southern corner; here the ground is largely clear of modern structures, and there is no reason why a 2·5-metre wall should have left no trace on the hard rock surface. Reference to the plan will show that the surviving sectors of the fort wall end at or near the very points where the steep cliff comes closest to the wall-line, and we may perhaps infer that the fortress was never completed, the steep-sided cliff having been deemed a sufficient natural defence in this southern corner of the site.

Within the walled area there are no ancient features of note visible to-day, apart from a square-sectioned well, which is said to be 35 metres deep and to communicate

[21] *IRT*, no. 896. We could not find this text in 1953.

by a 300-metre horizontal gallery, now collapsed, with the spring of El-Gaba el-Kebira in the adjacent oasis. There are also traces of a catchment area on the slopes of the plateau to the north of the fort, which diverted winter rainfall into a 20-metre long cistern, formerly protected from evaporation by a vault. A channel, later blocked, seems to have formed an overflow over the side of the cliff.

The small semicircular area lying outside the south-west fort wall contains numerous remains of buildings, some of which may be of the Roman period; and it was probably here that *canabae* were situated. The spring of El-Gaba el-Kebira, a hundred metres distant from the cliff-edge, can provide up to 40,000 litres of water daily, and serves to irrigate the adjacent oasis of some 4000 palm-trees.

Gheria el-Garbia has yielded fewer inscriptions than Bu Ngem. The central keystone of the north-east gateway bears a laurel wreath containing the enigmatic text: PRO/AFR/ILL,[22] but the real dedicatory inscription of the fortress should have stood above this keystone, as at Bu Ngem. An inscribed block of the appropriate size and character was in fact discovered by Barth built into the doorway of a small circular tower, of post-Roman date, which still stands a mile north-east of the fortress. This inscription [23] gives the titles of Severus Alexander (A.D. 230–5) and records that the *praepositus* of a detachment (*vexillatio*) of Legio III Augusta built the fort (*burgus*).

The term *burgus*, used it seems, in the German *limes* to describe a small watch-tower,[24] may appear inappropriately applied to Gheria el-Garbia, which corresponds, in dimensions, to a cohort fort. These military expressions seem, however, to have been rather loosely applied by the Romans (just as the terms 'fort', 'fortress', 'redoubt', etc., are loosely used to-day). An inscription [25] of the Antonine period found recently in Bulgaria records that in one region of the *limes* there were constructed 4 *praesidia*, 12 *burgi*, and 109 *pruri*, and these statistics may imply that burgi were sometimes forts of medium dimensions.

As there is no smaller structure that might be termed a *burgus* at Gheria el-Garbia, we may presume that the inscription in question refers to the fortress, which must therefore have been constructed (*a solo . . . instituit*) in the reign of Severus Alexander. Against this conclusion there is, however, the remarkable resemblance that Gheria el-Garbia bears to Bu Ngem, which latter fort was unquestionably built in A.D. 200–1, thirty years earlier; and the fact that it is precisely double the size. One receives the strong impression of a single Severan programme of military construction in which Gheria el-Garbia was destined to play a larger role than Bu Ngem.

These considerations tempt one to conjecture that Gheria was first planned and laid out under Septimius Severus, but was only completed and dedicated thirty years later; and, in support of this conjecture, one may quote those structural peculiarities of the main gateway to which we have already referred, which give the impression of a work begun by one team of builders and completed by another. For how long after the reign of Severus Alexander the fortress remained occupied is uncertain, but there is epigraphic record of a repair under Gordian III. Whether these outermost defences of the *limes Tripolitanus* had a part to play in the post-Diocletianic organisation is uncertain.

[22] *IRT*, no. 897. The reading is certain, but the meaning entirely obscure.

[23] *Ibid.*, no. 895.

[24] *CIL* XIII, 6509; cf. *O.R.L.* Strecke 10 (Lief. 44), p. 85. The meaning of *burgus* is also discussed by Wolff in *Röm-Germ. Bericht* viii (1917), pp. 80–1.

[25] V. Beshevlyev, *Epigraphic Studies* (Sofia, 1952), p. 33, no. 55.

The absence of fourth-century milestones on the roads of the interior, and the omission of *Cidamae* (Ghadámes) from the Notitia Dignitatum rather suggests that such large official forts were abandoned, the responsibility for defence being delegated to locally-recruited *limitanei* or perhaps to *foederati*.

Two other features of Gheria el-Garbia remain to be described—the first a curious relief (Fig. 4), now much mutilated, over the keystone of the left-hand side-arch of the main gate. The lower part of this relief has been deliberately erased, probably in antiquity; and Barth's 'trace of a chariot and a person in curious attire following it' is pure fantasy. All that is distinctively visible is the pair of victories flanking a pair of eagles at the top of the relief, and an altar with tripod base and a fire burning on it in the bottom right-hand corner. The left-hand bottom corner seems to have been occupied

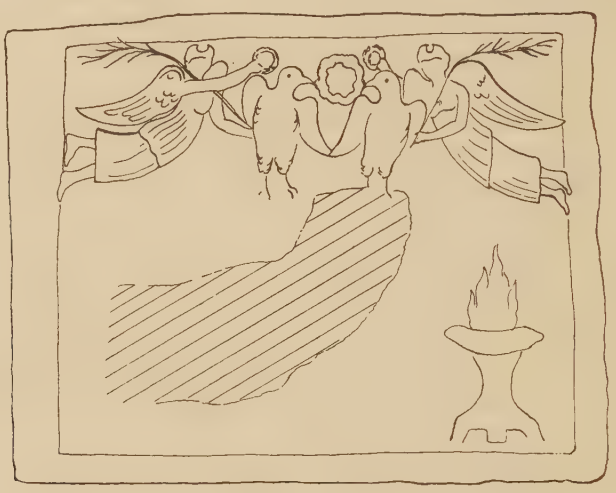


Fig. 4.

by an object of slightly different shape, whilst the remainder of the relief—whatever it may have depicted—occupied the centre of the panel.

The other point of interest, still to be investigated, is the appearance on the air photograph of some features suggestive of ancient fortification on the opposite side of the oasis to the main fortress. Here, in an area partly occupied by modern Arab houses, there seem to be (*a*) a ruined wall cutting off a small triangular promontory; and (*b*) an L-shaped ditch enclosing the edge of the plateau a little south of (*a*). The wall itself may be a native construction, but the ditch suggests Roman work, and it would be interesting indeed if it were to prove to be a temporary marching-camp thrown up during one of the earlier Roman expeditions into the Fezzan.

Ghadámes

The third and westernmost of our outer fortresses is that which must have existed in the oasis of Ghadámes, although no traces of its outline have yet been detected. Ghadámes is over 400 km. south-west of Sabratha, and was probably linked with that

port by a caravan route, which has not, however, yielded any milestones. It is a large oasis boasting some 20,000 date-palms and a number of copious springs. Fragmentary inscriptions [26] show the presence of a Roman garrison at Ghadámes under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and attest work of construction or reconstruction under Severus Alexander by a centurion of *Legio III Augusta*. One need not, therefore, doubt the former existence of an orthodox fortress of the Bu Ngem or Gheria el-Garbia pattern.

The flourishing life of Ghadámes both in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages was evidently inimical to the survival of the Roman fort, which may have lain on the same site as the present irregularly laid-out village. The only ancient remains *in situ* at Ghadámes are the so-called *asnam*, which are rubble cores of funerary monuments in which a strong native influence is present. Excavations [27] carried out around the bases of the *asnam* have brought to light numerous graves of late antique date, together with pagan funerary inscriptions. It was only under Justinian [28] that the inhabitants of Ghadámes were converted to Christianity, as part of the Byzantine policy of entrusting to barbarian but Christian *foederati* those frontier areas which could not be conveniently garrisoned by regular troops.

General Conclusions

The historical setting of these three outer fortresses has already been discussed, and it need only be reiterated that all three fall within the period A.D. 201–35. Bu Ngem was certainly constructed and fully equipped at the earlier date, and one may suspect the same of Ghadámes. At Gheria el-Garbia, however, the work was only completed by the later date, and then one angle of the fort walls appears to have been left unfinished, it having been decided that the natural features of the site offered sufficient protection in this quarter.

Far more surprising than the failure to complete the fort walls is the very attempt to place a conventionally-planned fortress of such dimensions on this restricted site. The two gateways in the longer sides of the fort lie only a few yards from the cliff-edge, and served very little purpose. Moreover, the whole area of the fort is dominated by higher ground to the north, on which post-Roman occupants of the oasis very sensibly erected a circular watch-tower. As at Bu Ngem, the Gheria el-Garbia fortress was sited solely with a view to controlling the adjacent oasis, and had little other tactical value. Large caravans could have passed, unobserved from its walls, along the plateau to the north.

It is also noteworthy that the two surviving fortresses both have very elaborate gates and relatively simple curtain-walls. The use of an elegant ashlar facing on the exposed surfaces of the gates seems to reflect a desire to make these fortresses as impressive as possible. It was perhaps intended that the traveller on the caravan routes should become immediately aware that he had entered Roman-controlled territory, and that his liberty of action was now under definite restrictions. 'Prestige' forts of a very similar type were erected by the Italians throughout Libya.

In terms of architecture, these Roman oasis forts of the third century show con-

[26] *IRT*, nos. 907–9.

[27] By Pavoni in 1913 (*Rivista Coloniale* viii (1913), 2, p. 315) and by Bilotti in 1935 (MS. report in archives of Antiquities Department of Tripolitania). A scientific re-examination of the *asnam* is badly needed.

[28] Procopius, *de aedif.* VI, B, 10.

servative trends. Their rounded corners, internal turrets, and disposition of *principia* and barrack-blocks, look backwards to the first and second centuries rather than forward to the post-Diocletianic era. Since they were built by detachments of *Legio III Augusta*, guided no doubt by long-accepted manuals of military engineering, this fact need not surprise us. The absence of a bank behind the walls, such as occurs even in the third-century Saxon Shore forts of Brancaster and Reculver,[29] may reflect new tendencies in fort-construction, but more probably results from the lack of any suitable heavy soil that could be used for this purpose. The new conceptions of military architecture that characterise the end of the third century and the whole of the fourth, more especially the emphasis on closely-spaced projecting bastions, were not to be diffused through the medium of conservative-minded legionaries. They resulted, more probably, from the army reforms linked with the name of Dicoletian and Constantine, and from third-century experience in constructing small outposts manned by static *limitanei*, and in defending cities.

R. G. GOODCHILD

[29] J. K. S. St. Joseph, 'The Roman Fort at Brancaster', *Antiquaries Journal* xvi (1936), pp. 444–60.

CONSTANTINE AND THE ORIGINS OF THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA

FEW archaeological problems have been longer and less conclusively debated than that of the origins of the Christian basilica. Ever since the great Renaissance architect, Alberti, noted the similarity of name and of architectural form between the Early Christian basilicas and the forum basilicas of Imperial Roman practice, students of classical architecture have been trying to establish the derivation of the Christian basilica from this, that, or the other type of pagan monument. The measure of their failure to secure general agreement is the very large and still increasing literature that has grown up around the problem.[1] There have, of course, been certain clear advances. Some of the older theories, such as that which derived the basilica from the Pompeian type of Roman house, need no longer be taken seriously; and there is a vastly greater body of reliable evidence available now than there was even a quarter of a century ago. Despite these advances, however, we are still very far from being able to give an agreed answer to the fundamental question, why it was that the fourth-century Church adopted the apsed basilical hall as the standard form of building for the celebration of the Eucharist, and so established an architectural and liturgical pattern that is still effective to the present day. The primary purpose of this article is to review the problem in the light of recent discoveries and of recent research, and to try to define, rather more precisely than is often done, the terms within which it can usefully be discussed.[2]

The basilica had at least five centuries of history behind it before it was adopted by the Christian church; and whatever may have been the relation of the Christian basilica to its pagan classical predecessors, it is obviously essential to any enquiry into the origins of the Christian basilica to know how the word was used, and what it implied architecturally in other fields, during the early centuries of the Christian era. The much-discussed question of the origin of the name 'basilica' and of the architectural form to which it came to be attached concerns us less directly. It will be enough, in the present context, to note briefly one or two of the more important advances that have been made in recent years in our knowledge of the early development of the classical basilica.

The literary and epigraphic evidence for the use of the term 'basilica' in classical antiquity has recently been summarised by Langlotz.[3] Apart from the fact that the

[1] For this literature, see the excellent and in many respects complementary summaries by E. Langlotz and F. Deichmann in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Th. Klauser, vol. i, 1950, 1225–59 (the article was written in 1943), and P. Lemerle in *Acad. R. de Belgique, Bull. de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 5, xxxiv, 1948, pp. 306–28. A. Stange, *Das frühchristliche Kirchengebäude als Bild des Himmels*, Cologne, 1950 (on which, see J. Kollwitz, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xlvii, 1954, pp. 169–71). For a summary of the papers on this subject read at a meeting of the Koldewey-Gesellschaft in 1953, see *Kunstchronik* vi, 1953, pp. 237 f. (in particular, the remarks by Th. Kempf, pp. 241–2).

[2] The writer's thanks are due to Professor Axel Boethius and to Mr. Hugh Last for many helpful suggestions made during the preparation of this article, and to Mr. G. U. S. Corbett for preparing the plans with which it is illustrated.

[3] *art. cit.*, 1225–6. See also G. Downey, *AJA* xli, 1937, pp. 194–211.

word is Greek and implies some sort of derivation from the Greek-speaking world, this evidence does not tell us much about the architectural connotations of the earliest phase. The feminine gender implies a missing feminine substantive; and the form of the adjective in *-ikos* is one that did not come into common use before the fourth century,[4] replacing the older form in *-eios*, as we find it for example in the name of the official seat of the Archon Basileus at Athens, the Stoa Basileios. It must, therefore, have been from the late classical or the Hellenistic world that the Romans borrowed the word, and, with it (presumably), the architectural form to which it was applied. But to what particular Hellenistic building or buildings it had belonged, we receive no hint. Later authors and inscriptions accept the word as a matter of course, just as we today accept the word 'palace' without any thought for its derivation from the Palatium, the Palatine Hill, on which the Roman Emperors had their first official residence. It is not until the seventh century A.D. that we get the explicit statement of Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 15.4.11) that '*Basilica* was formerly the name of the king's residence, which is how it got the name, for *Basileus* means king and *Basilica* the king's house'; and by that late date the possibility that learned conjecture had been at work is clearly too great for much reliance to be placed on his unsupported word.

The obvious explanation, that the word is borrowed from the Stoa Basileios and reflects the reputation of Athenian institutions in Rome, leaves unexplained the fundamental difference of architectural type between the Roman basilica and the Greek stoa; and it is at variance with what we know of the practical use of the basilicas of Republican Rome, which suggests that their original function was commercial rather than judicial.[5] An alternative theory is that recently put forward by Langlotz,[6] which would derive the name and (in certain of its aspects) the architectural type from the royal audience-halls of Hellenistic Egypt. Throne-rooms with longitudinal colonnades and clerestory lighting are a characteristic feature of Pharaonic palace architecture, e.g. the throne-room of Merenptah at Memphis; [7]and nothing would have been more in keeping with the policy of the Ptolemies than that they should have adopted a traditional setting for their own court ceremonial. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the essential constituents of the architectural type were current in other contexts in Hellenistic Egypt: the Diastolon of the Jews in Alexandria, built perhaps as early as the second century B.C. and destroyed in A.D. 117, seems to have been a five-aisled, colonnaded building with galleries;[8] and the persistence into Ptolemaic times of a tradition of clerestory lighting is securely attested by the name and form of the Roman *Oecus Aegyptius*, described by Vitruvius (VI. iii. 9) and exemplified in such surviving buildings as the House of the Mosaic Atrium at Herculaneum.[9] On the other hand, as Langlotz himself is careful to emphasise, the evidence is far from conclusive. There is no surviving contemporary account of a Ptolemaic palace, and none has ever been excavated. In the present state of our knowledge of Hellenistic archaeology, such a derivation,

[4] The new fashion is ridiculed by Aristophanes, *Eq.* 1378–81.

[5] E. Welin, *Studien zur Topographie des Forum Romanum* (*Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae*, ser. 8°, vi), 1953, pp. 111 f.

[6] 'Der architektonische Ursprung der christlichen Basilika,' *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen*, Berlin (Mann), 1951, pp. 30–6.

[7] *AJA* xxii, 1918, p. 75.

[8] H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, 1916, p. 180.

[9] A. Maiuri, 'Oecus Aegyptius', in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, pp. 423–9, pls 25–6; and in *Palladio*, n.s. ii, 1952, p. 5, figs. 9–11.

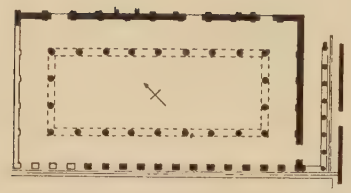
therefore, however plausible, can neither be proved nor disproved, and it is idle to speculate whether the influence of this hypothetical Ptolemaic prototype reached Rome directly or through some Hellenistic intermediary.[10] It may perfectly well be that the immediate precursor of the Republican Roman basilica was some Hellenistic building or class of buildings of a more everyday character, to which the name *Basilike* had already somehow become attached, as in the analogous case of the Stoa Basileios. What is certain is that the word first appears in architectural Latin in the early second century B.C. as the name given to a type of large public hall, of which the Basilica Porcia, built by Cato in 184 B.C. on the south side of the Roman Forum, is the first recorded example. These halls seem in the first place to have been designed as covered extensions of the Forum area, from which they were often separated only by open colonnades; but already under the later Republic they had come to acquire a secondary and more official function, through the transfer to them of the seat of certain of the magistrates' courts, and provision for the work of these courts was an important factor in shaping their subsequent development. Whether or not the Basilica Porcia and its neighbour, the Basilica Aemilia, begun five years later, were the first buildings of their kind to be put up in Rome, may be discussed;[11] but we can hardly doubt that it was from them that the word passed into common Latin use to denote the particular class of building of which they are the recorded Roman archetype, and hence, by extension, to describe the architectural type that such buildings embodied.

For a knowledge of what these early basilicas were like, we are no longer dependent solely on the well-known passage of Vitruvius (V. i. 6–10), in which he describes the basilica that he had himself built, shortly after 27 B.C., at Colonia Julia Fanestris, the modern Fano (fig. 1, 5). This was a rectangular building, consisting of a lofty central hall, surrounded on all four sides by an internal portico and gallery, and lit by a clerestory; the main entrance was in the centre of one long side and, opposite it, an apsed rectangular projection, which contained the *tribunal*, the seat of the presiding magistrate, and which served at the same time as a shrine for the imperial cult (*aedes Augusti*). We now know that Vitruvius was following a familiar and long-established model. In Rome itself recent excavation has shown that the pre-imperial Basilica Aemilia was, like its successors, a rectangular hall with an internal ambulatory, set with one of the longer sides facing the Forum. Clearer, because more complete, is the evidence afforded by the American excavations at Cosa, in Southern Etruria, which have revealed a basilica of substantially Vitruvian type, dating from the middle of the second century B.C. (fig. 1, 4).[12] Cosa was an official military colony, with no architectural pretensions of its own, and we can hardly doubt that in the form of its basilica, as demonstrably in so much else, it followed the practice of contemporary Rome. When we recall that substantially the same type of basilica has been recorded also from two other republican

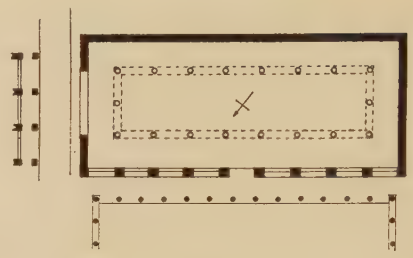
[10] The 'Hypostyle Hall' in Delos is commonly cited in this connection (G. Leroux, *Délos*, fasc. iia: *La Salle Hypostyle*, Paris, 1909; *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle*, Paris, 1913); but, as Langlotz remarks, the architectural type has closer affinities with the oriental *apadana*.

[11] The discussion turns on the reference in Plautus, *Curculio*, 472: 'dites damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito'. Plautus was already dead when the Basilica Porcia was begun, and this line is either a later insertion or must refer to some earlier basilica. The adjective *basilicus* appears commonly in Plautus in the figurative sense of 'grand, costly'.

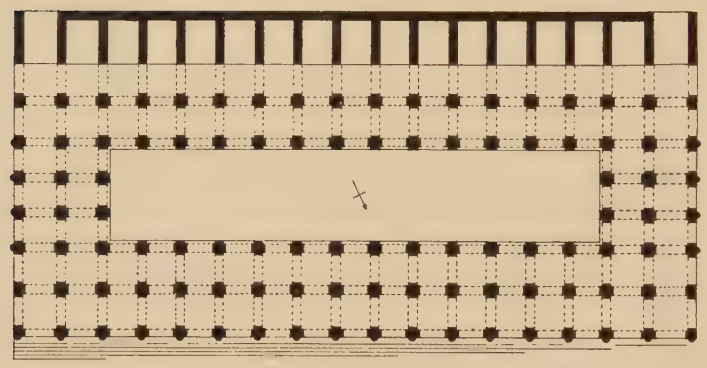
[12] *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* XX, 1951, pp. 71–3, fig. 66 (before excavation). For permission to reproduce the summary plan of this building since excavation, I am indebted to the American Academy and to its successive field-directors, Professor F. E. Brown and Mr. L. Richardson.



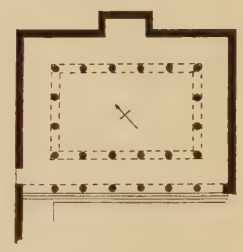
1. ARDEA



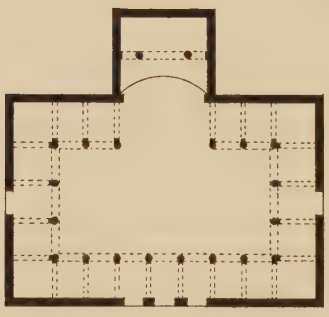
2. ALBA FUCENS



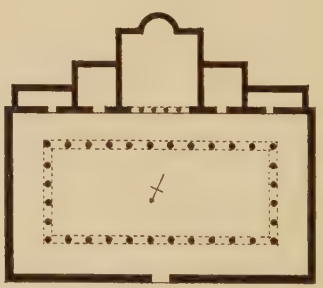
3. ROME. BASILICA JULIA



4. COSA



5. FANUM (Vitruvius)



6. SABRATHA

FIG. 1.—LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL BASILICAS OF CENTRAL ITALIAN 'BROAD' TYPE.

sites, Ardea (fig. 1, 1)[13] and Alba Fucens (fig. 1, 2),[14] it becomes very clear that what one may conveniently call the Vitruvian type of basilica was widely diffused in Late Republican Italy.[15]

It was not, however, the only type current in Republican Italy. The basilica at Pompeii, built perhaps *c.* 100 B.C., follows what seems to be normal Italian practice in employing a centralised ambulatory rather than longitudinal colonnades (fig. 2, 1). But

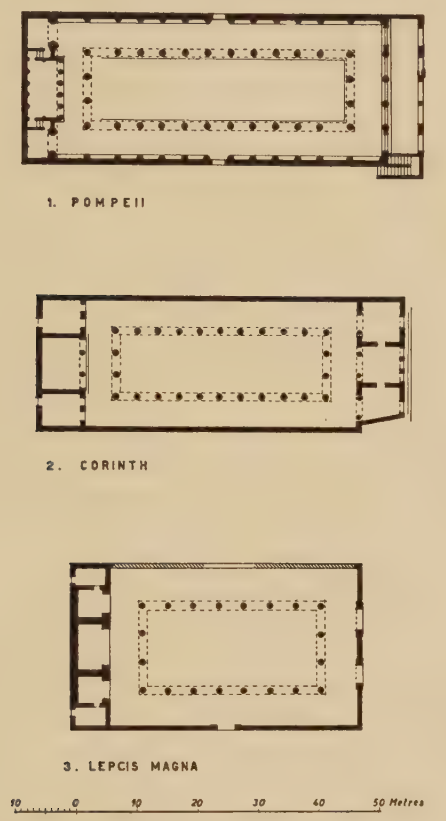


FIG. 2.—LATE REPUBLICAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL BASILICAS OF POMPEIAN TYPE.

it is one of the short sides that faces the Forum; and it is the longer axis that receives the full weight of architectural emphasis. In view of Pompeii's geographical position and South Italian contacts, it is tempting to suggest that in this the Pompeian basilica may resemble more closely the hypothetical Hellenistic archetype, and that the Vitruvian

[13] First half of the first century B.C.; there is no trace of a separate tribunal. Erik Wikén, *Bollettino dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei* v, 1934, pp. 7–21.

[14] Late Republican; there is no trace of a separate tribunal, unless this stood within the south aisle, above the *tabernae* that are incorporated in the podium near the middle of the rear wall; J. Mertens, *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, s. 8, v, pp. 171–94, fig. 23.

[15] Cf. also the Basilica Julia (fig. 1, 3) and the early Imperial basilica at Sabratha (fig. 1, 6). The possible distinction between a primitive, completely centralised type (as at Ardea, and still substantially surviving in the Basilica Julia) and a more complex type, with a clearly established shorter axis (Cosa, Vitruvius's basilica at Fano) need not be further discussed in the present context.

basilica may represent a characteristically Roman adaptation of this same type. It is obvious, for example, that to the architect of the basilicas at Cosa and at Ardea, with their open, colonnaded fronts, ready access from the forum was an all-important consideration; and for this the 'broad' Vitruvian basilica was obviously better suited than its 'long' Pompeian counterpart. Like the whole question of Hellenistic origins, however, this must await the results of further research. For the present, all that we can say for certain is that there were these two clearly defined types of basilica already represented in Italy by the end of the second century B.C.

With the subsequent development of the basilica during the Empire we cannot here concern ourselves in detail. So much fresh information has come to light in recent years that, before attempting any more detailed reassessment, one would have first to assemble and to present a large body of archaeological evidence. One can, however, venture one or two useful generalisations, which have a bearing on the problem of the origin of the Christian basilica. It is quite clear, for example, that the word *basilica*, whatever its original connotations, came in time to be applied to buildings covering a wide range of function and an almost equally wide variety of architectural types. Domestic basilicas are recorded as early as the late first century B.C., when Vitruvius employs the term to describe a room that might form part of a wealthy private house (VI. 5. 2); and in later antiquity there are many such references, of which it will here be sufficient to mention two, the three *basilicae centenariae* (i.e. one hundred feet long) in the Villa of the Gordians on the Via Praenestina, and the basilica with an annexed pool on Sidonius Apollinarius's country estate in the Auvergne.[16] There were basilicas attached to public buildings, e.g. to the theatres at Nicaea, in Bithynia, and at Iguvium, in Umbria,[17] or to the baths at Narbonne,[18] the exact function of which we do not know. The *basilicae argentaria* (or *vascolaria*), *vestilia* and *floscellaria*, listed in the fourth-century Regionary Catalogue of Rome and its appendix, must have been covered bazaars, serving the needs of the metalworkers, clothiers, and flower-sellers respectively.[19] At Djemila in Algeria (the ancient Cuicul) excavation has revealed the actual remains of a fourth-century *basilica vestiaria*;[20] and the basilicas that are recorded as having been added to an existing market at Corfinium, in central Italy, were presumably covered market-halls of a similar, though perhaps more general, character.[21] A specialised military version of the basilica is described by Vegetius, and is attested epigraphically as early as the second century; it was used as an exercise-hall in bad weather, and we note without surprise that three of the five inscriptions referring to such basilicas come from Britain.[22] We do not know the precise purpose of the basilica that was built as an annex to a temple of Aesculapius at Civitas Vazitana Sarra in Tunisia, nor of the pair of basilicas adjoining a temple dedicated to two local Celtic divinities at Périgueux.[23] There is, however, at least one well-attested case of the use of the word to describe a hall used for cult purposes, and that is the *Basilica Hilariana*, an underground hall

[16] SHA, *vit. Gord.* 32. 3; Sidonius, *Epist.* ii. 2. 8.
[17] Pliny, *Epist.* x. 39; *CIL* xi, 5820 (Augustan).
[18] *CIL* xii, 4342 (mid-second century).
[19] *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae*, ed. Nordh (*Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae*, ser. III, 8°), Lund, 1949, pp. 84, 100; cf. *CIL* vi, 9209.
[20] *Bull. Arch.* 1913, pp. 159–60; *CIL* viii, 20156 (A.D. 364–7).
[21] *CIL* ix, 3162 (undated).
[22] Vegetius (ed. Lang, 1885) ii, 23; *CIL* vii, 965 (Netherby, A.D. 222) and 445 (Lanchester, *temp.* Gordian, cf. 287); *CIL* iii, 6025 (Syene, *c.* A.D. 140); *CIL* xiii, 6672 (Mainz, A.D. 196).
[23] *CIL* viii, 12006 (A.D. 212); xiii 950–4 (early Imperial).

attached to the College of the Dendrophori (devotees of the mysteries of Magna Mater) on the Caelian Hill in Rome.[24]

All of these uses of the word *basilica* are attested either in the works of contemporary writers or in inscriptions; and there seems no reason to doubt that the factor which they had in common was a more or less close resemblance to, or derivation from, the architectural type embodied in the official judiciary basilicas, modelled on those of the capital, that were to be found in any Roman town of any civic pretensions. Such, at any rate, is the clear inference to be drawn from the passages in Vitruvius that refer to the domestic basilica (see above, pp. 70, 74); and a survey of the epigraphic evidence shows that it is to public, judiciary buildings of this sort that the overwhelming majority of the surviving inscriptions refer. At first, as we have seen, these buildings were strictly 'basilical', i.e. they had internal colonnades and clerestory lighting; and this seems to have remained the accepted type for such great public halls as the Basilica Ulpia in Rome or the Basilica Severiana at Lepcis Magna, right down to the end of the third century. Already, however, under the early Empire we begin to find buildings that were called *basilica* by virtue of their function rather than of their architectural form. Such (to cite three representative examples) were the public basilicas at Veleia, in the Appennine foothills near Parma (first century), at Timgad (Trajanic), and at Doclea in Dalmatia (first half of the second century),[25] all of which were single-naved halls occupying the whole of one side of the forum. These were basilicas without internal colonnades; and we may suspect (although there is very little direct evidence either way) that by no means all of those that had colonnades also had clerestories. We are less well informed about the various other classes of basilica referred to in the preceding paragraph; but what little we do know suggests a similar diversity of architectural type. The *Basilica Argentaria* in Rome is plausibly identified with an open colonnaded structure of Trajanic date, at the south-west corner of the Forum of Caesar,[26] whereas the fourth-century *Basilica Vestiaria* at Djemila[27] was a simple rectangular hall, with a door in the middle of one short side and, opposite it, a projecting apse. About the surviving cult-buildings that are usually known as basilicas—e.g. the well-known Neo-Pythagorean hypogeum at the Porta Maggiore;[28] the so-called 'Basilica Crepereia,' a basilical hypogeum associated with the cult of Faunus, which was found and destroyed in 1613 in Rome, in the via Panisperna;[29] and the small basilical building found in the precinct of the temple of the *Matronae Vacallinehae* at Pesch in the Rhineland[30]—there is an element of doubt, since there is no direct evidence that this was the word used to describe them in antiquity. What is certain is that, except for the omission (for obvious reasons) of a clerestory in the two underground examples, they follow closely the traditional basilical type, and the name would seem to be a reasonable inference from the title of the functionally analogous *Basilica Hilariana* (see above, p. 74).

It remains to mention the audience-halls of the imperial palaces in Rome and, under the later Empire, in the provinces. Plutarch (*Popl.* 15) refers by name to the

[24] *CIL* vi, 30973. See *Bull. Comm.* 1890, p. 20 and *Not. d. Scavi* 1869, pp. 348–9; unfortunately only the antechamber was excavated. To judge from the associated sculpture, it may have been as early as the late second century.

[25] Veleia: S. Aurigemma, *Velleia* (Rome, 1940), p. 34; R. Schultze, *Basilika* (Berlin, 1928), p. 49, fig. 36. Timgad: Schultze, *op. cit.* pl. VII. Doclea: *ibid.* fig. 33.

[26] G. Lugli, *Roma Antica: il centro monumentale*, Roma, 1946, p. 251.

[27] See above, p. 74, n. 20.

[28] *Monumenti antichi dei Lincei* xxxi, 1926, cols. 601–860.

[29] *Bull. Comm.* xlvi, 1920, p. 73; cf. *CIL* vi, 1937.

[30] Schultze, *op. cit.* pp. 61–3, fig. 44.

basilica of Domitian's palace on the Palatine; but otherwise, as units within a larger whole, they play little part in the contemporary record. But on the analogy of the many other derivative uses of the word to describe the same architectural type, it is reasonable to suppose that they were known as basilicas, and under the early Empire, at any rate, they seem regularly to have been longitudinally colonnaded halls, with clerestory lighting and an apse at one end of the long axis. Such are the basilicas in Domitian's palace on the Palatine and in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.[31] The function of the apsed basilical hall in Diocletian's Palace at Spalato[32] is variously interpreted; but the Magnaura, Constantine's throne-room in the imperial palace at Constantinople, seems to have been just such a colonnaded hall, set at the far end of an atrium-like forecourt.[33] Constantine's surviving throne-room at Trier[34] was an aisleless, apsed hall, which might well have served as a model fifty years later for the cloth-hall at Djemila.

Whether these palace basilicas were the simple outgrowth of the Emperor's judicial functions (influenced perhaps by the private basilicas of late Republican and early Imperial domestic architecture) or whether in some degree they represent a fresh borrowing from the same Hellenistic models as may have inspired the great Republican basilicas two and a half centuries earlier, it is impossible to say; nor is the question important for our present enquiry. It is quite clear that, whether or not the palace basilica derived in any way from a hypothetical Ptolemaic *basilike*, under the later Empire, with the increasing elaboration of court ceremonial, it came to acquire a function that would have seemed strangely familiar to a courtier of the divine Pharaoh. This is a point that may well be relevant to the problem of the origin of the Christian basilica.

To conclude this rapid survey of the development of the pre-Christian basilica, we may note that, in general terms, it was the 'broad' type that was current in the West, the 'long' type in the East. There were important exceptions. The basilica at Pompeii, for example, occupies a somewhat equivocal position, in that it combines a longitudinal arrangement of entrance and tribunal with a typically Italian centralised ambulatory;[35] and we may suspect that Italian (and probably South Italian) buildings of this type served as the model for such buildings as the basilica beside the Lechaeum Road at Corinth (which was a deliberate centre of Romanisation in Greece) or the Basilica Vetus at Lepcis Magna,[36] both of which reproduce essentially the Pompeian type (fig. 2, 2 and 3). But the normal judiciary basilica, both in Italy and in the Western provinces, was a 'broad' building, set with its long axis parallel to one side of the forum and laid out symmetrically about the shorter axis. In the Eastern provinces the judiciary basilica never seems to have been completely at home.[37] Its functions were already

[31] G. Giovannoni in *Saggi sull'Architettura Etrusca e Romana*, Roma, 1940, pp. 85–94 (the concrete vault is disputed); H. Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian*, Berlin, 1895, fig. 24.

[32] G. Niemann, *Der Palast Diokletians in Spalato*, Vienna, 1910, Abb. 129; only the vaulted substructures are preserved, but it is clear that these reflect the plan of the hall that once stood upon them. It is to be distinguished from the vestibule and plain rectangular hall opening off the 'Peristyle' or ceremonial atrium (the function of which is discussed by E. Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum*, Copenhagen, 1941).

[33] Destroyed in 532. For a reconstructed plan, based on the contemporary sources, see E. Dyggve, *op. cit.*, p. 54, fig. 45; he suggests that Theodoric's throne room at Ravenna followed the same model.

[34] W. v. Massow, *Die Basilika in Trier*, Simmern (Hunsrück), 1948.

[35] See V. Müller, *AJA* xli, 1937, pp. 250–2.

[36] *Corinth*, i, 1932, pp. 193–211; *Fasti Archaeologici* iv (1949), 4021, fig. 88.

[37] The examples cited by Downey (*art. cit.* (n. 3) pp. 194–211) suggest the possible survival throughout the classical period of a class of buildings that were known as *basilikai*, but were partly open to the sky. Such buildings would presumably have been derived from late Hellenistic models.

substantially covered by the Stoa, except as a centre for the Imperial cult; and that, under local conditions, was better served by putting up a separate building. Wherever it is found, therefore, the judiciary basilica may probably be regarded as a more or less direct product of Romanisation. Nevertheless, where it did take root, its Hellenistic ancestry enabled it to do so vigorously and without violence to local architectural traditions; and it would be a mistake to regard the basilica in the East as a slavish copy of the Western type. The 'broad' basilica, an architectural type that reflects a long-established Italian predilection for centralised forms (cf. the atrium), is barely, if at all, represented in the East. Instead, we have a 'long' type, with longitudinal colonnades running without a break from entrance to *tribunal*, often seeming to sacrifice architectural logic in order to do so. The Caesareum at Cyrene, which was closely associated with the newly established Imperial cult, is an instructive early example of the success with which the new Roman wine could be poured into the old Hellenistic bottles.[38] Another striking and well-documented example is the Hadrianic basilica and forum at Kremna in Pisidia.[39] One has only to compare it with the loose agglomeration of porticoes that constitutes the agora of the neighbouring town of Termessos[40] to appreciate the Roman element in this otherwise strongly conservative, provincial Asiatic architecture.[41]

By the beginning of the fourth century, then, the Roman basilica had already five centuries of development behind it. In Rome and Central Italy the basilical tradition had been established by the great public halls of early-second-century Rome, with a possible collateral branch of the same family in South Italy, represented by the well-known basilica at Pompeii; and with a few possible but unproven exceptions, such as the domestic basilica and, later, the palatine throne-room, all subsequent basilicas in the West appear to derive from this source, either through the application of the name *basilica* to buildings that fulfilled the functions of the earlier basilicas but had not their architectural form, or through the use of the familiar architectural type in new and unfamiliar contexts. But it is probably true to say that to the ordinary Roman of A.D. 300 the colonnaded forum-basilica still represented the norm of ordinary usage and the logical justification for these wider uses of the word. In the Eastern provinces the position is complicated by the survival of other Hellenistic building types, functionally comparable but architecturally distinct, which may have included *basilikai* of a distinctively East Roman type. Nevertheless, although the Roman basilica was, in consequence, never so common in the East as it was in the West, it was successfully introduced; and since the architectural idiom was familiar and could be readily adapted to local conditions, by the end of the third century it may fairly claim to have become a familiar part of the architectural *koiné* of the Empire.

The problem that confronted the Christians after the conversion of Constantine was nothing less than the creation of a new monumental architecture to serve the requirements

[38] *JRS* xxxviii, 1948, p. 62, fig. 7. This building, which was restored by Hadrian after the Jewish Revolt, awaits detailed study; in its present state it represents a curious compromise between 'broad' and 'long' planning. The same features characterise the second-century basilica recently excavated at Smyrna (Izmir).

[39] K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, ii, Vienna, 1892, pp. 164–5; for a better plan see Langlotz, *art. cit.* (n. 1), fig. 28, 10.

[40] Lanckoronski, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 21 f.

[41] Other accessibly published examples of judiciary basilicas from the Eastern provinces are those at Aspendos in Pamphylia (Lanckoronsky, *op. cit.* i, pp. 96–8, fig. 76), at Apamea in Syria (H. C. Butler, *American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899–1900*, ii: *Architecture and other Arts*, New York, 1905, p. 55, fig. 22) and, probably, at Palmyra (*C. R. Acad. des Inscr.* 1940, pp. 237–49; the interior is not yet excavated, but it can hardly be other than a basilica, and the three doors indicate a 'long' plan. I owe this reference to Mr. R. G. Goodchild.)

of what, from a banned or barely tolerated cult, suddenly, in the course of a very few years, found itself an official state religion. Quite apart from its unhappy associations (a motive that can be overstressed : the Church early showed itself ready to adopt and turn to its own use those elements of pagan art or ritual that it found serviceable), the traditional pagan temple was architecturally quite unsuited to the needs of Christian worship. Pagan funerary architecture might afford models for its monumental martyr-shrines and baptisteries; but for its eucharistic celebrations, and for those other liturgical occasions that involved the presence of the Christian community in large numbers, it needed a new form of cult-edifice. The answer that it produced was the Early Christian basilica.

In discussing the sources from which the Early Christian basilica was derived, it is more than usually necessary to define one's terms with care, since it is clear that quite early in the post-Constantinian period the word *basilica* came to be used in a far looser sense that one is nowadays accustomed to give it. In present-day usage the Early Christian basilica may be defined as a more or less monumental hall with two (occasionally four) longitudinal colonnades, clerestory lighting, and, at the far end of the central nave, an apse. This was a norm that admitted of a great many variations of detail. There were basilicas with no apse (e.g. the first churches at Aquileia and at Parenzo)[42] or with two apses (e.g. at Orléansville);[43] there were basilicas with transepts between the nave and the apse (as frequently in Greece); there were basilicas without clerestories (e.g. the early churches of Southern Syria, whose form was dictated by local materials and building traditions);[44] and there were small churches everywhere—it is better not to call them basilicas, although they were often known as such, and although in a great many cases they can be shown to be the poor relations of their richer basilical neighbours —in which the nave is a simple hall without any internal subdivisions. Despite these variations, however, the basic type is remarkably consistent, and is what we mean today when we talk of 'the Early Christian basilica'.

It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, to find that a circular building, such as San Vitale at Ravenna, could be referred to in its foundation-inscription as a basilica,[45] or that as early as the end of the fourth century a pilgrim to the Holy Land could refer to the circular structure over the Holy Sepulchre as *basilica Anastasis*, and to the basilical church to the east of it as *ecclesia maior*.[46] Constantine himself, in a letter written to Bishop Macarios of Jerusalem, had referred to the latter building as βασιλική,[47] and *basilica* is what the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls it, a few years later.[48] Eusebius, Constantine's

[42] C. Cecchelli in *La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna, 1933, pp. 109–253; P. Verzone, *L'Architettura religiosa dell'alto Medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Torino, 1942, pp. 31–4, with previous bibliography. B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo*, Padova, 1943, p. 25, fig. 28 (the mid-fifth-century 'pre-Eufrasian' basilica); its fourth-century predecessor, one of a pair of plain rectangular halls with neither apse nor internal colonnades, is referred to as *basilica* in the dedicatory inscription of its mosaic pavement (*ibid.*, p. 16, fig. 10).

[43] St. Gsell, *Monuments Antiques de l'Algerie*, ii, pp. 236–41.

[44] H. C. Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 406 f.; J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947, pp. 47 f.

[45] *CIL* xi, 1, 288 = *ILCV* 1795.

[46] *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, ed. P. Geyer (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix), 48, 1 (p. 100), *et al.* For the interpretation of the early texts relating to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see E. Wistrand, *Konstantins Kirche am heiligen Grab in Jerusalem nach den ältesten literarischen Zeugnissen* (*Acta Universitatis Gotoburgiensis*, 1952–1, Göteborg, 1952 (see further below, p. 8).

[47] *vit. Const.* iii, 29–32; e.g. (32) τὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς καμάραν πότερον λακυνάριαν ἢ δι' ἑτέρας τινὸς ἐργασίας γενέσθαι σοι δοκεῖ, παρα σοῦ γνῶναι βούλομαι. Both here and in Constantine's letter about the church at Mamre (*ibid.* iii, 53), βασιλική (rare elsewhere in Eusebius) probably represents 'basilica' in the original Latin draft of the letter (L. Voekl, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xxix, 1953, pp. 58–60). The letter is important as indicating the Emperor's personal interest in, and control of, the detailed progress of the work.

[48] *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. P. Geyer (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix), p. 23.

contemporary, is content with elegant periphrases, βασίλειος νεώς or βασίλειος οἶκος, and, although these may reasonably be held to imply the word *basilica*, his choice of language is of interest rather for the indication that it gives of the natural associations that the word had, at any rate in this context, for himself and for his contemporaries. Everything about this building was *basilikos*, as befitted the work of a *basileus*; and that this was no individual flight of literary fancy we can see a few years later from the parenthetical comment of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, *iusso Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est, id est dominicum*. The Christian basilica was born into a world that delighted in double meanings and symbolic allusions; and, with such connotations, it is not at all surprising that the word *basilica* should rapidly have come to lose any precise architectural significance it may have had. With the all-important exception that it records Constantine's own application of the word to one of the most important of his own foundations, the post-Constantinian literary record is not of much use to us in our present enquiry.

We have to turn instead to the archaeological remains, supplemented, whenever possible, by the writings of the pre-Constantinian Fathers. In dealing with this evidence, there are, broadly speaking, two possible lines of approach. Both are alike in assuming a certain continuity of development before and after Constantine; but whereas the first is concerned primarily with the analysis of what we know of the pre-Constantinian meeting-places of the Christian communities, the starting point for the second is the Early Christian basilica itself, which has then to be explained in terms of some aspect or aspects of the recent (and not necessarily Christian) past.

Of these two possible lines of approach, the first is methodologically the more attractive, since we can hardly doubt that, whenever possible, Constantine's establishment of the Church was rooted in existing Christian practice. It suffers, on the other hand, from the disadvantage that the archaeological evidence is very scanty, and that, in the absence of the remains of a substantial number of pre-Constantinian church-buildings, the literary evidence is hard to interpret with any precision. We know that from very early days, the Christian communities were accustomed to meet in private houses;[49] and the church of Dura Europos affords welcome evidence that, by the middle of the third century, the *domus ecclesiae* had evolved certain simple but recognisable forms to meet the practical and liturgical requirements of the Christian community.[50] Opening off the central courtyard, there is a large room for its meetings, a baptistery for the final initiation of the new members, and what may be a room in which to hold the *agape*; and upstairs there was the priest's lodging and, probably, rooms for the instruction of those awaiting baptism. One must not exaggerate the degree of architectural specialisation; the church at Dura remains essentially a house, indistinguishable from the outside (or indeed from the courtyard) from any of its neighbours. But that it also represents a tangible stage in the evolution of Christian church-architecture is clear from the fact that in large parts of Syria the normal church of the fourth century was patently developed from just this sort of house-church.[51] Indeed, it would be truer to say that it still was the house-church; as Lassus very rightly remarks of these fourth-century Syrian churches, it is not the basilica that constitutes the church, but the

[49] *Acts* i, 13; ix, 37–9; xx, 6–9.

[50] *The Excavations at Dura Europos*, v, 1934, pp. 238–88.

[51] J. Lassus, art. 'Syrie' in Cabrol-Leclercq-Marrou, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1951, col. 1855 ff. (re-assuming and revising his own *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947).

whole group of buildings of which the basilica is a part. Excellent early examples of this are the small church of Qirk Bizzé (Kirk Beza) in North Syria and the larger Julianos Church at Umm al-Jemal in the South, both dating from early in the fourth century and both, in detail, the product of local architectural traditions that go back well into the third century.[52]

What we can document from Syria, thanks to the large number of remains surviving undisturbed from late antiquity, we can, for the most part, only guess at elsewhere. It is only in Rome, where there is documentary evidence to show that a number of later churches arose on the site of buildings that had belonged to prominent members of the pre-Constantinian Christian community, that we can point with any certainty to the substantial remains of places of worship dating from before the Peace of the Church. An exceptionally well-preserved example (if it has been correctly identified) is the third-century house beside the church of San Martino ai Monti, which is commonly identified as the 'titulus Equitii'.[53] The function of the '*titulus*' resembled that of the later parish church; and since this building shows no trace of any structural alteration during the fourth century, it would seem to afford welcome archaeological evidence of what is, *a priori*, a most likely state of affairs, namely that frequently, even in the capital, the old house-churches continued for a long time to serve the needs of the community before being replaced by more up-to-date church buildings. Unfortunately, the identification is not beyond question (see Appendix, p. 89); and even if this is the original *titulus* building, it is very unlikely that the central hall, a rectangular vaulted chamber divided into two aisles by a row of brick piers, was built as a church,[54] or indeed that, opening as it does directly off the street, it was itself ever used as the place of reunion of a proscribed cult. The same objection applies even more forcibly to the hall beneath San Clemente,[55] which is sometimes cited as a precursor of the Christian basilica, despite the fact that it lay wide open to a public street. As at Dura, the actual cult-rooms must surely have been withdrawn discreetly from the public gaze.

As a community grew, it might enlarge one of the rooms of an existing house, as it did at Dura; it might borrow and adapt an existing pagan structure, as the Christians of Antioch are said by the third-century author of the *Recognitiones* to have established their church in the private house of a wealthy citizen;[56] it must, on occasion, have had to erect a new building to serve as a church, and such a building would no doubt have included a substantial hall for the celebration of the eucharist. But neither in Rome nor elsewhere is there as yet any evidence to suggest that, prior to the Peace of the Church, the Christians had evolved, or even begun to evolve, a monumental architecture of their own; indeed, situated as they were in the middle of a world that was, on occasion, violently hostile, it seems far more likely that they had deliberately avoided doing so. Lactantius, an eye-witness, tells us that in 303 it was the work of a few hours to raze to the ground the church of the important Christian community of Nicomedia.[57]

[52] J. Lassus, art. 'Syrie' in Cabrol-Leclercq-Marrou, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1951, figs. 11001 and 11020.

[53] R. Vielliard, *Les origines du titre de Saint-Martin aux Monts à Rome*, Rome, 1931.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 26, fig. 4, and plan I.

[55] R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, i, 1937, pp. 117–36. Cf. E. Junyent, 'La primitiva basilica di S. Clemente,' *Riv. Arch. Crist.* v, 1928, pp. 231–78.

[56] Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* x, 71 (Migne, *PG* i, in the version of Rufinus): 'ita ut . . . Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suae ingentem basilicam ecclesiae nomine consecraret.'

[57] *de mortibus persecutorum* (ed. Brandt and Laubmann, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxvii, 1893) 12, 5.

Archaeology may well have surprises in store; but, on the evidence at present available, we are probably justified in concluding that at the beginning of the fourth century the relatively unsubstantial house-church was still the only form of organised meeting-place known to the Christian world. That this primitive house-church made a notable contribution to the Christian architecture of the fourth century we cannot doubt; its influence is clearly visible both in the liturgical lay-out and fittings and in the buildings that surround the church proper. But, for the architectural origins of the Christian basilica we must look elsewhere.

It is to the evidence afforded by Constantine's own foundations that one naturally turns; and it is precisely in this field that recent research has made some of its most useful gains. The excavations of 1933–34[58] established that Constantine's Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem consisted essentially of three separate elements united to form a single architectural complex: a spacious colonnaded forecourt ('atrium'); a basilical hall with five longitudinal naves; and at the east end of this hall, opening off the central nave, an octagonal structure sheltering the cave in which, by tradition, Christ was born (fig. 3, *b*). About its neighbour, the first Church of the Holy Sepulchre, archaeology can tell us less—little more, indeed, than the shape of the site, a long, narrow rectangle, rounded at the western end. But we are fortunate in possessing numerous contemporary accounts of what was, in its day, the most famous and influential building in Christendom; and the most recent study of these accounts, by the Swedish philologist Wistrand,[59] has confirmed and amplified, and in several important respects corrected, the proposals made by Dyggve shortly before and during the war.[60] As described by Dyggve, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre consisted of three main elements: to the east, a basilical hall; adjoining it to the west, on the same axis, an open colonnaded courtyard, rounded at the western end and enclosing, at the centre of the semicircle, the actual monument covering the Tomb; and, to the south of this courtyard, a baptistery and a colonnaded forecourt, or atrium. This picture requires correction in several important details; in particular, there does not seem to be any valid reason for displacing the atrium from the position which it is usually held to have occupied, to the east of the basilical hall, on the axis of the building; and, as Wistrand has now shown, it cannot have been very long after Constantine (certainly before Aetheria visited Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century) that the semicircular western end of the courtyard was transformed into the familiar circular structure that has dominated all subsequent accounts of, and speculation about, the site. But the most important and original of Dyggve's conclusions, that the building housing the sacred relic was at first an open courtyard, not a roofed structure, is convincing; and it would certainly have commanded wider and more immediate acceptance, if its author had not chosen to link it with a terminology that has won little support. In calling this monumental, porticoed courtyard 'basilica discoperta' and relating it to a number of other open, porticoed funerary buildings with apses (notably the shrine excavated by himself at Marusinac, near Salona) to which he applies the same term, he suggests a relationship to the normal roofed basilica that is attested neither by archaeology nor by philology. 'Basilica

[58] E. T. Richmond, *Q. Dep. Ant. Pal.* v, 1936, pp. 75–81; W. H. and J. H. Harvey, *Archaeologia* lxxxvii, 1938, pp. 7–17.

[59] See n. 46.

[60] *Bericht d. VI int. Kongr. für Archäologie, 1939*, Berlin, 1940, pp. 385 f.; *Gravkirken i Jerusalem*, Copenhagen, 1941 (résumé in French); *Actes du VI^e Congr. int. d'études byz.*, 1948, ii, 1951, pp. 111–23.

discoperta' is not a technical term. It figures once only in the ancient literature, and then in a corrupt passage.[61] And although it may well be that open, apsed courtyards played a part in shaping the later development of the Christian basilica, particularly in connection with the cult of martyrs, just as the architectural type (as distinct from the name given to it by Dyggve) may have influenced the form of the courtyard enclosing the Holy Sepulchre, the influence of such buildings on the initial adoption of the roofed basilica as the standard eucharistic meeting-place of the early fourth-century Church has yet to be demonstrated. With these important reservations, we may accept Dyggve's account; and the first Church of the Holy Sepulchre falls into line beside the first Church of the Nativity as an axially composed group of three distinct buildings: an atrium-forecourt, a basilical hall, and a shrine housing the sacred relic (fig. 3, *a*).

The shrines enclosing the cave of the Nativity and the Holy Sepulchre and, by a simple extension of ideas, the larger complexes of which they were a part, both belong to the category of early Christian buildings known as 'martyria', that is to say they were built to house the relics of martyrs or the holy places associated with the life on earth of Christ or of his Old Testament forbears.[62] It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that the same architectural scheme (atrium, basilical hall, martyrium) reappears in the most famous of the early western martyr-shrines, the great church that Constantine built over the traditional tomb of St. Peter in Rome (fig. 3, *c*). In St. Peter's the distinction between the basilical hall and the martyr-shrine is architecturally less marked than it is at Jerusalem and at Bethlehem; and the fact that, under the influence of St. Peter's, transepts came later to be a commonplace of western basilical architecture[63] has further softened the impact of this distinction on modern eyes. Nevertheless, as the recent excavations under St. Peter's have clearly shown, the original purpose of the transept was to frame and to display the tomb-shrine, which stood beneath a splendid canopy at the focal point of the whole architectural scheme, immediately in front of the apse.[64] The altar of the church probably stood elsewhere, possibly even (as commonly in the early churches of Italy and North Africa) in the body of the nave;[65] and there may well have been a screen or barrier dividing the nave from the transept on the line of the triumphal arch. It was not until two and a half centuries later, *c.* 600, that the altar was moved to its present position over the tomb, obliterating a distinction between the two halves of the building which, to Constantine's architects, must still have seemed perfectly clear.

With the subsequent development of the atrium and of the martyrium we are not here concerned.[66] What is important in the present context is that these three great

[61] *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (ed. P. Geyer, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix, 1898), p. 209. For the variant readings and for a criticism of the use of the term 'basilica discoperta', see A. M. Schneider, *Antiquity* xxiv, 1950, pp. 135–7.

[62] The fundamental study is that of A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946. In early fourth-century usage the term could be applied either to the sacred relic (the 'witness' of the sacred truth) or to the building or group of buildings that housed it (Wistrand, *op. cit.*, p. 12, citing Eusebius).

[63] R. Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', *Art Bulletin* xxiv, 1942, pp. 1–38.

[64] B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, A. Ferrua, E. Josi, E. Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*, 1951, i, pp. 161–72; J. B. Ward Perkins, *Journal of Roman Studies* xlii, 1952, pp. 21–4.

[65] *Italy*: see M. Mirabella Roberti, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xxvi, 1950, pp. 181–94. *N. Africa*: J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, pp. 1–82, and specially pp. 64–6. Later (certainly by the time of Gregory of Tours, and probably already in the fifth century) the altar of St. Peter's stood in the transept.

[66] In the West the rapid assimilation of the specialised martyrium-building to the ordinary basilical church (see Grabar, *op. cit.*) was an important factor in eliminating the distinction between churches such as St. Peter's and St. John Lateran (see below).

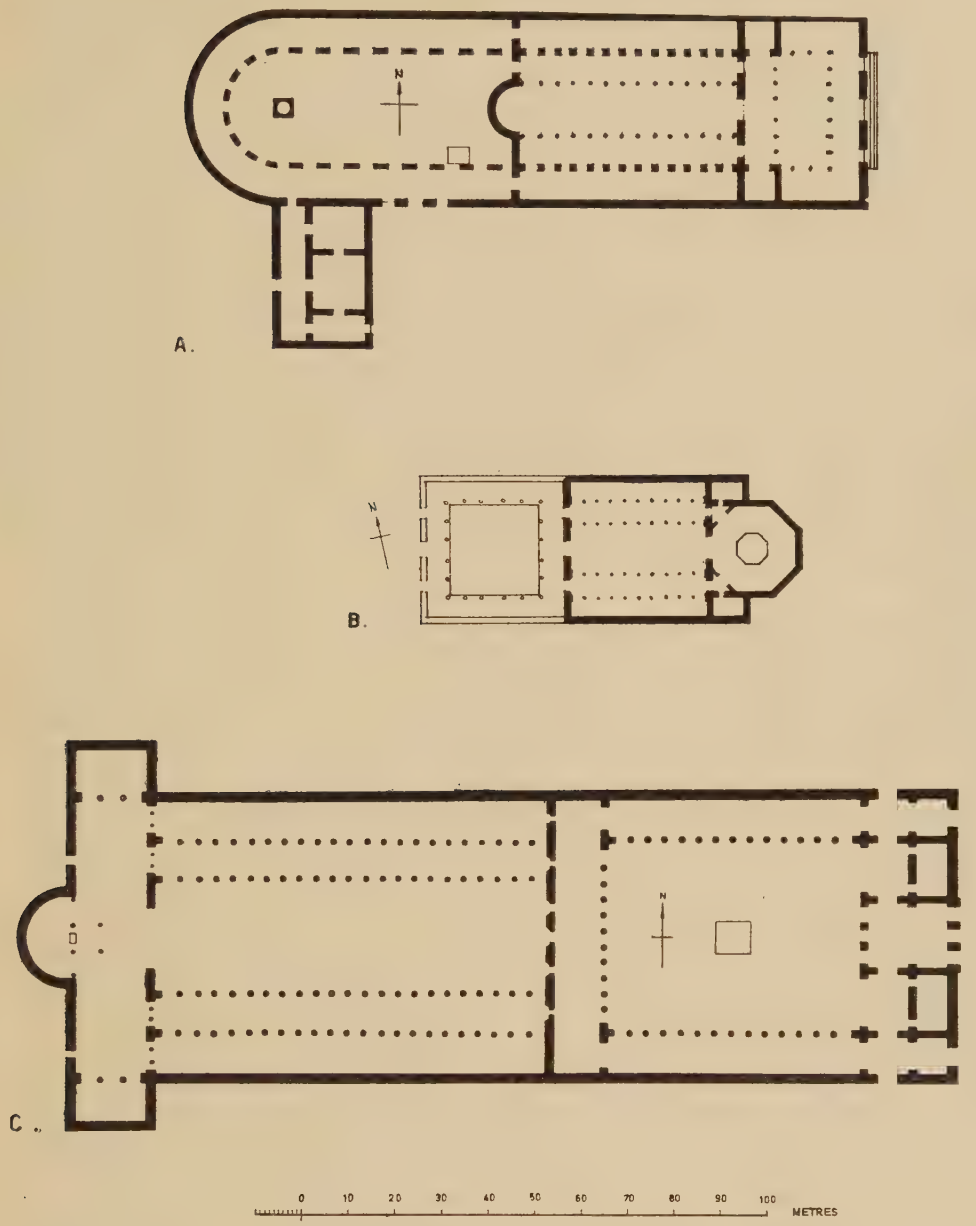


FIG. 3—*a*. THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, JERUSALEM (AFTER WISTRAND).
b. THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM.
c. ST. PETER'S, ROME (THE DETAILS OF THE ATRIUM ARE HYPOTHETICAL).

Constantinian sancturies, despite their manifest differences of detailed treatment, were clearly built to a common scheme; and that a constant element in that scheme was a longitudinally colonnaded basilical hall.

The full significance of the common element shared by these three buildings has, in the past, been obscured by the fact that another of Constantine's major foundations, the cathedral church of St. John Lateran, although built to serve a very different purpose, appeared to follow in part the same model. There does not seem to be any evidence to show that it ever had an atrium; but, both from the surviving remains of the old church and from the drawings that were made of it before the alterations of the sixteenth century, it is clear that in other respects the medieval building closely resembled old St. Peter's, and that it had a five-aisled nave, a narrow transept, and an apse. Since there is no evidence to suggest that St. John Lateran was built to serve any other purpose than that of episcopal church of the Bishop of Rome, the existence of a transept might well seem to invalidate the identification of the transept of St. Peter's as a martyrium, i.e. as an element functionally and architecturally distinct from the basilical nave; and since, further, it is now abundantly clear that transepts were not a normal part of the Early Christian basilica but an exceptional and intrusive feature, the Lateran transept might well seem to be a conclusive argument against regarding Constantine's own foundations as the models from which the lesser basilical churches of the Empire were derived.

The fact (if it were established) that Constantine's own great basilical foundations were not the models, but were themselves based on, or derived from the same source as, the simple basilical churches of normal fourth-century usage, would seem to compel one to regard the emergence of the early Christian basilica as the result of an evolutionary process rather than of conscious, individual choice. Such, indeed, is the reasoning implicit in many of the theories put forward in the past fifty years: it is implied that the Early Christian basilica is in some sense the logical product of a chain of past events and tendencies, each link of which is causally related to its neighbour; and although, in distinguishing between evolutionary development and individual choice, we are distinguishing between complementary aspects of a single process rather than between mutually exclusive alternatives—the whole history of architecture may be regarded as a history of the varying, and never wholly independent, balance between the creative individuality of artist and patron and the larger, impersonal forces that shaped and determined their work—it obviously makes a great deal of difference which of the two is at any particular moment the dominant partner. Archaeology, by its very methods, tends to emphasise the evolutionary, determinist aspect; and yet, everything that is known of the reign of Constantine tends to show that this was one of the moments in history when the element of individuality, and above all the personality of Constantine himself, was decisive.

It is therefore a very important new fact that excavations carried out between 1934 and 1938 under the floor of St. John Lateran have cast serious doubt on the Constantinian date of the transept.[67] These excavations have not yet examined that part of the

[67] The excavations were conducted by Professor Josi; the results are summarised by A. M. Colini in *Storia e Topografia del Celio nell'Antichità* (*Atti Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch.* 3: *Memorie* VII), pp. 344–59. The writer is indebted to Professor Josi for allowing him to examine the unpublished material and to test the point at issue; and to Mr. G. U. S. Corbett, who first suggested the significance of the new finds.

transept which projects beyond the north and south outer walls of the nave; and only when this has been done can the results be regarded as conclusive. What they have shown (fig. 4) is that the stylobates of the two inner colonnades are continuous right up to the shoulders of the original apse; whereas there is no continuous transverse foundation beneath the triumphal arch, at the junction of the present transept with the nave. In St. Peter's the converse is true: there was an enormous transverse foundation beneath the triumphal arch, whereas the stylobates of the nave colonnades break off when they reach the transept. The foundation plan of St. Peter's faithfully reflects the architectural logic of an independent transept; and the fact that the foundations of St. John Lateran convey no hint of such a transept is strong presumptive evidence that there was no such thing in the original plan. On this hypothesis, the transept would be an addition of the early Middle Ages, designed to bring St. John Lateran into line with St. Peter's, in an age when the original significance of the transept had been lost and the Vatican basilica had become the accepted model for Western European basilical architecture.[68] With the important reservation that further excavation is needed to establish the facts beyond dispute, it may fairly be said that the onus of proof now rests with those who maintain that the Lateran transept is an original feature; and Constantine's basilica, the episcopal church of Rome and his first great Christian building[69] in what was still the capital of his Empire, takes its place as a large but orthodox Early Christian basilica, with a five-aisled nave and a single western apse.

There is no reason to believe that the archaeological account is closed, or that there are no fresh surprises in store. Nevertheless, with so much new evidence to hand, it does seem legitimate to try to strike an interim balance, and to define the problem anew in terms of the evidence now available. We may summarise the present state of knowledge as follows:

1. There is nothing to show that the Christian Church before Constantine had evolved a monumental architecture that might have served as a model for the Constantinian and post-Constantinian basilica.

2. The church of St. John Lateran, the episcopal church of Rome and almost certainly the first substantial church to be built under the Emperor's patronage, seems (contrary to long-established belief) to have been built as a basilica of standard Early Christian type.

3. No less than three of Constantine's later foundations (the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, of the Nativity, and of St. Peter) are built to a common pattern, a central and consistent feature of which is the incorporation of a large basilical hall. Constantine himself refers to this feature as *basilica*; and the evidence recorded by his contemporary, Eusebius, leaves no doubt whatever of the Emperor's own direct and detailed concern with the form and progress of these great undertakings.

If we reject, as historically improbable, the idea of the spontaneous evolution of the Christian basilica from pagan models (an idea which is, moreover, very hard to reconcile

[68] See Krautheimer, *art. cit.* The most probable occasion would be the major restoration undertaken by Pope Sergius III (904–11).

[69] The date of its foundation is not recorded, but it is significant that its endowments were all in Italy, whereas those of the Lateran Baptistery included the Balkan districts (won by Constantine in 319), and those of St. Peter's the Eastern provinces (won in 324); see A. Piganiol, *L'Empéreur Constantin*, 1932, p. 113; H. v. Schoenebeck, *Klio*, Beih. xliii, 1939, pp. 88 ff.

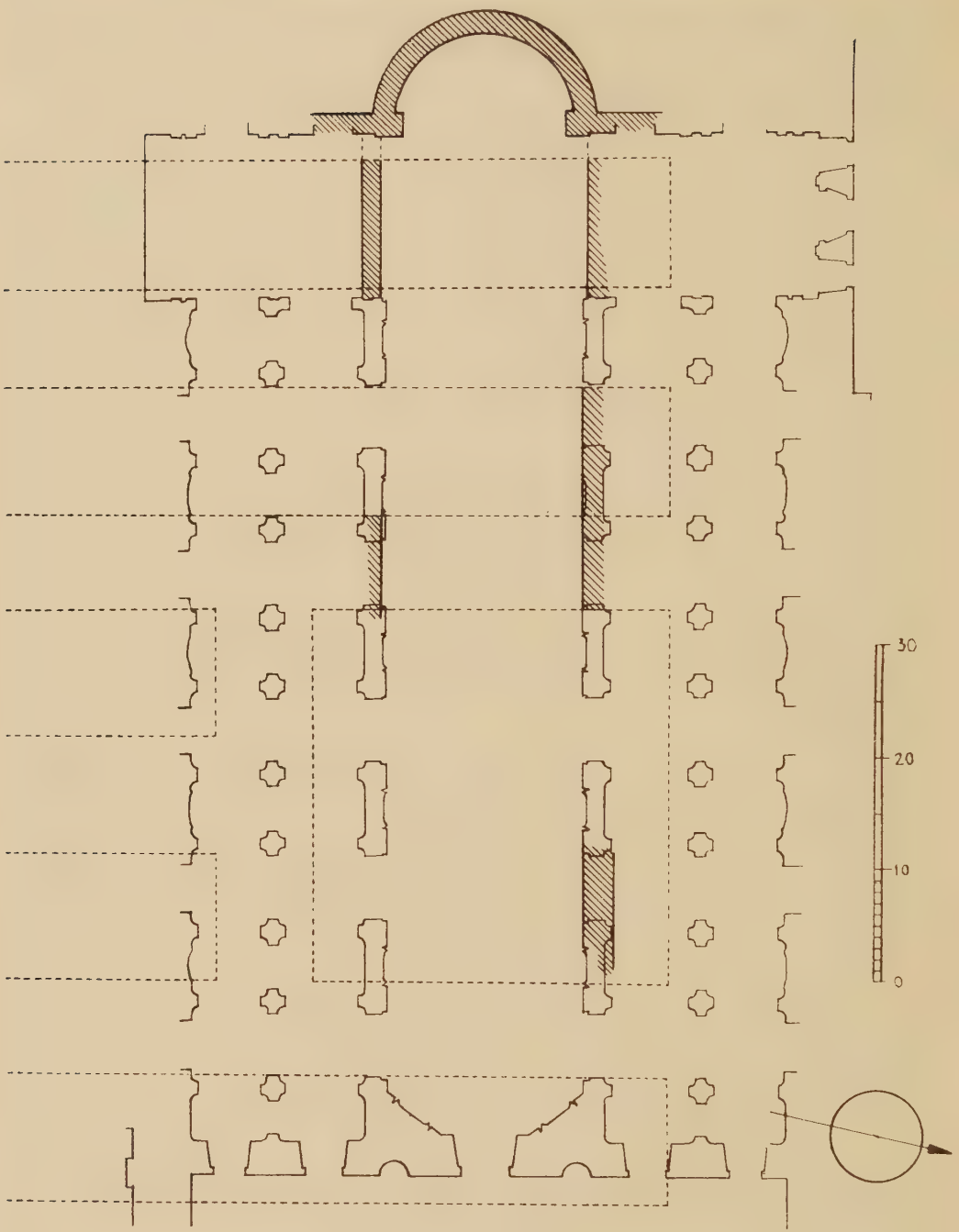


FIG. 4.—CHURCH OF ST. JOHN LATERAN.

The ascertained foundations of the Constantinian Church (*shaded*) in relation to the walls and piers of the present church (*outline*) and to the headquarters-building and barrack-blocks of the Severan Camp of the Equites Singulares (*dotted outline*).

with the rapidity with which the basilical church seems to have been accepted throughout the Empire), we are driven to conclude that its adoption as the standard form of Early Christian church was the direct consequence, whether by force of example or by actual administrative enactment, of its prior use in these great Imperial foundations; in particular, if we knew why Constantine and his advisers built the church of St. John Lateran as they did, we should have gone a long way towards solving the problem of the origins of the Christian Basilica.

That is a question to which it is not now, and may never be, possible to give a decisive answer; but formulated in these terms it does allow us to assess the probabilities more clearly, and to limit the field of enquiry to those elements that might reasonably be held to have attracted the attention of the Emperor and his advisers in their search for a type of building that should be suitable for the needs of the newly-enfranchised religion. It is possible, but in the writer's view improbable, that the architectural framework of the Early Christian basilica was an eclectic, artificial creation. Through all Constantine's activities as a reformer runs a strong thread of conservatism; his guiding purpose seems to have been, wherever possible, to breathe new life into old forms rather than to create new; and it would have been far more in keeping with his whole attitude, particularly in the early, experimental years of his reign, to have taken over and adapted an existing type of building. We may perhaps go further, and state that, in the absence of an existing Christian monumental architecture upon which to draw, the natural source of inspiration would have been the palatine architecture of the Imperial Court.[70] It is a commonplace of Early Christian archaeology that, both for its ceremonial and for the furnishings required for the performance of that ceremonial, the Church borrowed heavily from contemporary Imperial practice; and although some of the resemblances that we meet later may be the result of a gradual process of mutual assimilation, there are others (such as the Imperial canopy, which becomes the Christian *ciborium*)[71] that can be shown to go back certainly to the time of Constantine. It would have been natural, then, and in keeping with all that we know of the development of the outward forms of Christian worship at this time, if the architectural type embodied in the great new Imperial foundations had been derived from the ceremonial halls of contemporary Court life. It is important to remember that these audience-halls themselves played a conspicuous part in the contemporary ecclesiastical drama. At the Council of Nicaea, in 325, the ordinary sittings met in the town's largest church, but the final session was held in the great central hall of the Palace.[72] If only we knew something of the hall in the Lateran Palace in which Pope Miltiades held the Council of 313,[73] we might perhaps hold the key to the puzzle.

To suggest that the audience-halls of contemporary court ceremonial may have been

[70] So Langlotz, *art. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 34–6.

[71] See, recently, U. Monneret de Villard in *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, pp. 102–3, discussing the canopy within the shrine of the Imperial cult (*temp.* Diocletian) in the legionary fortress at Luxor; cf. the Constantinian canopy over the central shrine in St. Peter's. For the relationship between the ceremonial of Church and Court, see A. Grabar, *L'Empéreur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, *passim*; also A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* xlix, 1934, 1–118; l, 1935, 1–171.

[72] Eusebius, *vit. Const.* (ed. Heikel, 1902) iii. 10.

[73] Optatus (ed. Ziwsa, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxvi) i, 23: 'convenerunt in domum Faustae in Laterano.' A Basilica Julii '*in lateranis*' is mentioned in the appendix to the letters of Gregory the Great as the scene of the proclamation of the Emperor Phocas to the senate and clergy of Rome (ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, 1302), probably the same Basilica Julii as that in which the supporters of Boniface II (530–2) met to elect him in opposition to the party of Dioscorus, which met in St. John Lateran (*Lib. Pont.* i, p. 281).

the immediate models for Constantine's great basilical churches is not to deny that other types of pagan basilica had an important influence on the subsequent development of the architectural type in Christian hands. It is very probable indeed that they did. Although, on this hypothesis, we must attribute the initial adoption of the basilical church in the provinces either to the example of the great Imperial foundations or to some more direct Imperial initiative, its widespread and immediate acceptance shows that the seed fell on ready ground. The wide currency of the pagan basilica meant that there were few awkward problems to be faced in adapting its Christian successor to local conditions and materials. It was, moreover, an architectural type that lent itself readily to modification; and it is to the phase immediately after its endorsement by the Church, rather than to that of its initial adoption, that we should ascribe such influences from existing Christian funerary usage as those on which Dyggve lays such emphasis. Pagan cult-buildings such as the 'Basilica Crepereia',[74] despite the familiar appearance of its mosaics on apse and triumphal arch, may have had little or no direct influence either on the initial adoption of the Early Christian basilica or on its subsequent development; but they are good evidence of what was felt to be suitable for a place of worship in a world of ideas that had much in common with the early stages of organised Christianity. The success of the Christian basilica is another aspect of the familiar truth that Christianity was born into a waiting world.

In conclusion we may note an aspect of the Early Christian basilica that was to be of immense importance for the later history of European architecture. One has only to glance at the public monuments erected in Rome during the last half-century of its life as the Imperial capital—the Aurelian Walls, the Baths of Diocletian and of Constantine, the Basilica of Maxentius, the 'Temple of Romulus' in the Forum—to realise how far the architecture of the capital had already progressed along the path that leads from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages.[75] The story is epitomised in the Basilica of Maxentius, where, for the first time, we find 'contemporary' concrete-vaulted architecture invading a domain that had hitherto been reserved for the conservative dignities of a dying classicism. What would have happened in the next fifty years, if Constantine had not transferred the capital elsewhere and left Rome to the contemplation of her vanished glories, is a fascinating subject for speculation. What did happen was that the only important buildings to be put up in Rome after 330 were churches; and by selecting the timber-roofed basilica to be the standard form of Christian meeting-place, Constantine ensured the triumphant survival in the West of a type of architecture that any progressive architect under the Tetrarchy would have pronounced a doomed survival from an outmoded past. 'Contemporary' architecture moved elsewhere, in the West to Milan and Ravenna, but above all eastwards, to Constantinople. It is one of the ironies of history that Rome, which for three centuries had been the home of all that was progressive in architecture, became overnight the stronghold of a vigorous but none the less authentic conservative tradition; whereas Greece and Anatolia, which under the Empire had clung obstinately to the traditions of their own classical past, through Constantinople now fell heir to the progressive traditions of Italy and became the centres of vital experiment. Just as Constantinople, through its churches, its public

[74] See p. 75, n. 29.

[75] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxxiii, 1947, pp. 163–94.

buildings and its baths, shaped the future of monumental architecture in the Eastern Mediterranean, so it was the great Christian basilicas of Rome that established the pattern of western architecture for over a millennium to come.

J. B. WARD PERKINS

APPENDIX. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE *TITULUS EQUITII*

The building usually identified as the *titulus Equitii* lies immediately to the west of the church of San Martino ai Monti, at a level considerably lower than that of the present church. It has been published and discussed by René Vieillard (*Les origines du titre de Saint-Martin aux Monts à Rome* (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana*, iv) Rome, 1931), who concludes that it was the historical *titulus Equitii*, a house-church ceded to the Christian community by a certain Equitius early in the third century and, in view of the large central hall, very probably built expressly to serve this special purpose.

The essential passages in support of this identification are three:

(*a*) The list of signatories to the proceedings of the Church Council held in Rome in 499, three of whom describe themselves as 'presbyter tituli Aequitii' (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Paris, 1901, viii, 436, 437).

(*b*) The surviving fragment of the Laurentian *Liber Pontificalis*, which can be dated between 514 and 519, i.e. to the period immediately following the events here described (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 46; cf. pp. xxx–xxxi):

> 'Hic (*sc.* Pope Symmachus, 498–514) beati Martini ecclesiam iuxta Sanctum Silvestrem Palatini inlustris viri pecuniis fabricans et exornans, eo ipso istante dedicavit.'

(*c*) The revised, mid-sixth-century edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which ascribes to Pope Silvester (314–35) the foundation of a church, which is referred to indiscriminately as *titulus Equitii* and *titulus Silvestri* (*ibid.*, i. p. 170):

> 'Hic (*sc.* Silvester) fecit in urbe Roma ecclesiam in praedium cuiusdam presbiteri sui, qui cognominabatur Equitius, quem titulum romanum constituit, iuxta termas Domitianas, qui usque in hodiernum diem appellatur titulus Equitii, ubi et haec dona constituit . . .'

a passage which is substantially repeated later (*ibid.*, p. 187):

> 'Hisdem temporibus constituit beatus Silvester in urbe Roma titulum suum in regione III iuxta thermas Domitianas qui cognominantur Traianas, titulum Silvestri, ubi donavit Constantinus Augustus . . . (list follows). Obtulit et omnia necessaria titulo Equiti.'

These two passages do not appear in either of the surviving summaries of the lost first edition.

From the first of these three documents it is certain that the *titulus Equitii* (or *Aequitii*) existed under that name in 499; and since the latest recorded foundation of a *titulus*-church is that of the *titulus Vestinae*, under Innocent I (401–17) (*Liber Pont.* i, p. 220), it is reasonable to suppose that it was already in existence at latest by the end of the fourth century.

From the second document we learn that Pope Symmachus founded a church of St. Martin *iuxta sanctum Silvestrem*. The present fabric of the church of San Martino ai Monti dates entirely from the reconstruction of the 'church of Saints Silvester and Martin' ('beati Silvestri et Martini ecclesiam'; *Liber Pont.* ii, p. 131) begun by Sergius II (844–7) and finished by Leo IV (847–55); but, although its predecessor may have occupied a slightly different site (Vieillard, *op. cit.* pp. 72–3), there does not seem to be any reason to question the identification of the adjoining third-century structures with the church of St. Silvester referred to in the Laurentian fragment. The courtyard of the early building was enclosed about this date, in what was evidently an attempt to provide something more closely resembling a symmetrical basilical plan, with a principal nave and two flanking aisles, and at the end of the nave a niche was cut in the classical masonry to house the mosaic portrait of a bishop, identified by Wilpert as Silvester himself and attributed to the early sixth century (*Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* iii, pl. 96; Vieillard, *op. cit.* fig. 22). That

this building is in fact the building referred to in the early sixth century as the church of St. Silvester seems reasonably established.

The identification of this church of St. Silvester with the *titulus Equitii* rests on the passages cited from the *Liber Pontificalis*. If we may accept Duchesne's analysis of the text (i, p. 188, note 4; p. 200, note 119; cf. Vieillard, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* v, 1928, pp. 89–103), these two passages were inserted by the editor of the second edition: they show that by the middle of the sixth century the two names, of Equitius and of Silvester, were associated with the same building, and they reveal the efforts of the editor or of his sources to reconcile the contradiction implied by the double nomenclature; but, as evidence that the *titulus Equitii* was in fact founded by Silvester during the reign of Constantine, they carry little weight. Since, further, an examination of the surviving remains reveals no trace of early-fourth-century work, it is reasonable to conclude, with Vieillard, that the original *titulus*-foundation stood in the name of Equitius (probably the donor of the property), and that it was only later that his name came in some way to be associated with, and eventually superseded by, the better-known name of St. Silvester (we may compare the supersession of the name of the founder of the *titulus Pammachii* by those of Saints John and Paul), giving rise to the legend of a Constantinian foundation that we find recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

That the *titulus Equitii* was founded before the Peace of the Church is not improbable, although it can be regarded as proved only if one accepts the view (Vieillard, *art. cit.*) that all references in the *Liber Pontificalis* to post-Constantinian foundations are mistaken, and that the number of the *tituli* was already closed by the time of Constantine. Vieillard's further contention, that the surviving buildings are those of the original *titulus Equitii* and that this was founded as early as the beginning of the third century (the approximate date of the buildings) is, on the other hand, open to serious question. It assumes that there was an absolute continuity of site, *i.e.* that the early-sixth-century chapel of St. Silvester occupies the precise site of the earlier *titulus*, of which it inherited the cult; and, however probable *a priori* this may seem to be, it is impossible, in the absence of any trace whatsoever of earlier Christian use, to exclude the possibility that the original *titulus* was in some adjoining building, or in some other part of the same group of buildings. Furthermore, even if these are the buildings of the original *titulus*, there is nothing whatever to show that they were built in the first place to serve as the place of reunion of a Christian community. The surviving remains in fact suggest something very different. They consist of a large central hall, measuring some 11 m. by 18 and divided by two piers into two aisles, running north and south, and each consisting of three cross-vaulted bays; at the south-west angle of the hall there is a vestibule, with three large doors opening off the street and others giving access directly into the hall and, in the angle between the hall and the vestibule, into a courtyard, which served to light the two northern bays of the hall; to the east of the hall a much-altered range of rooms opens off the eastern aisle; and doorways, now blocked, gave access to further rooms, lying to the north and east, and to a flight of stairs leading to an upper storey. Of the original decoration of the main hall there is no trace; but there is a substantial fragment of painted plaster still in position in the vault of the vestibule (Vieillard, *Les origines*, etc., figs. 10, 11; it belongs to an early modification of the original plan), and other fragments were copied in the seventeenth century (*ibid.* fig. 9; Wilpert, *op. cit.* p. 326, fig. 104). These are purely pagan in character; and it is very hard to reconcile either this decoration or the form of the hall, with its awkward central row of piers, and of the vestibule, wide open to the street, to the courtyard, and to the hall itself, with the requirements of an early-third-century Christian community. If these buildings are, indeed, what remains of the *titulus Equitii*, they were surely built originally to serve some other purpose (possibly as a covered market; this would explain the vaulted hall, the *taberna*-like rooms opening off it, and the ready access from the street), and it was not until later that they were converted to Christian use. They cannot be used as evidence for a specifically Christian architecture during the third century.

Postscript. The essential responsibility of Constantine for the adoption of the basilica into Christian use is one of the themes of an important article by Richard Krautheimer, which appears to have escaped the attention of others besides the present writer ('The Beginnings of Early Christian Architecture', *The Review of Religions* iii, 1938–9, pp. 127–48). In his article, Krautheimer rightly stresses that the basilica is one only of a number of monumental church-types represented in the fourth century, the element common to all of which seems to be that they are derived from the various types of assembly-hall current in pagan antiquity. Within this wider setting, while admitting the importance of the assimilation of the outward forms of the Christian cult to those of imperial ceremonial, Krautheimer is inclined to look rather to the public basilica, with its long-established associations with the imperial cult, than to the audience halls of palatine architecture.

ANCIENT SETTLEMENT IN THE TRIPOLITANIAN GEBEL, II: THE BERBER PERIOD

(Plates XIV–XVI)

General Description of the Evidence . . . . . p. 91
Individual Sites . . . . . p. 93
The Hawarra . . . . . p. 110
Conclusions . . . . . p. 111
Appendix I, Inscriptions . . . . . p. 113
Appendix II, Catalogue of Sites . . . . . p. 116

THIS paper provides a sequel to the account previously given of Roman settlement in the eastern Gebel of Tripolitania,[1] and is designed to complete the summary report of exploration carried out in this area during the years 1949–51. I must again express my gratitude for the assistance of friends and colleagues, in Tripolitania and elsewhere, to whom detailed acknowledgement was made in my earlier paper.

In dealing with the decline of the prosperous agricultural society of the first three centuries A.D., two sites were described on which the open olive farms were replaced, in the one case by a ditched blockhouse, and in the other by a herdsman's hut.[2] These examples were chosen to illustrate the nature of the transition rather than to give a complete picture of the later economy. We there confined ourselves to the suggestion that the destruction of the olive farms was the work of marauding pre-desert tribes such as the Austuriani, whose incursion into the territory of Lepcis is recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus; and that the invaders' subsequent settlement left its material traces in the huts and fortified farms, and its historical mark in Procopius' description of the Libyan tribes and Ibn Abd al-Hakam's account of their traditional origin. It is our purpose here to give a fuller account of the later society, as it can be pieced together from the evidence of the sites, and to elucidate it where possible by a more detailed citation of the literary references.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE EVIDENCE

The individual buildings consist, in the main, of variations on two types, the blockhouse or *'gasr'* (pl. *'gsur'*), and the single-roomed hut. These are sometimes found singly, as in the two examples previously cited, but are often grouped, in more fertile country, in small villages of several huts around a blockhouse. The masonry shows a considerable decline from the standards of the previous period; in particular, the Roman techniques of fine stone-dressing and of mixing strong and durable concrete disappear from the countryside, and the basic materials are now rubble or roughly squared small

[1] 'The Tripolitanian Gebel: Settlement of the Roman Period around Gasr ed-Dauun', *Papers of the British School at Rome* xxi, 1953, pp. 81–117. Referred to here as 'Roman Period'. Section 1, dealing with 'Geography and Modern Settlement', and its accompanying general map (fig. 1), also provide the background for the present work.

[2] 'Roman Period', pp. 105 ff., Sites 13 and 14.

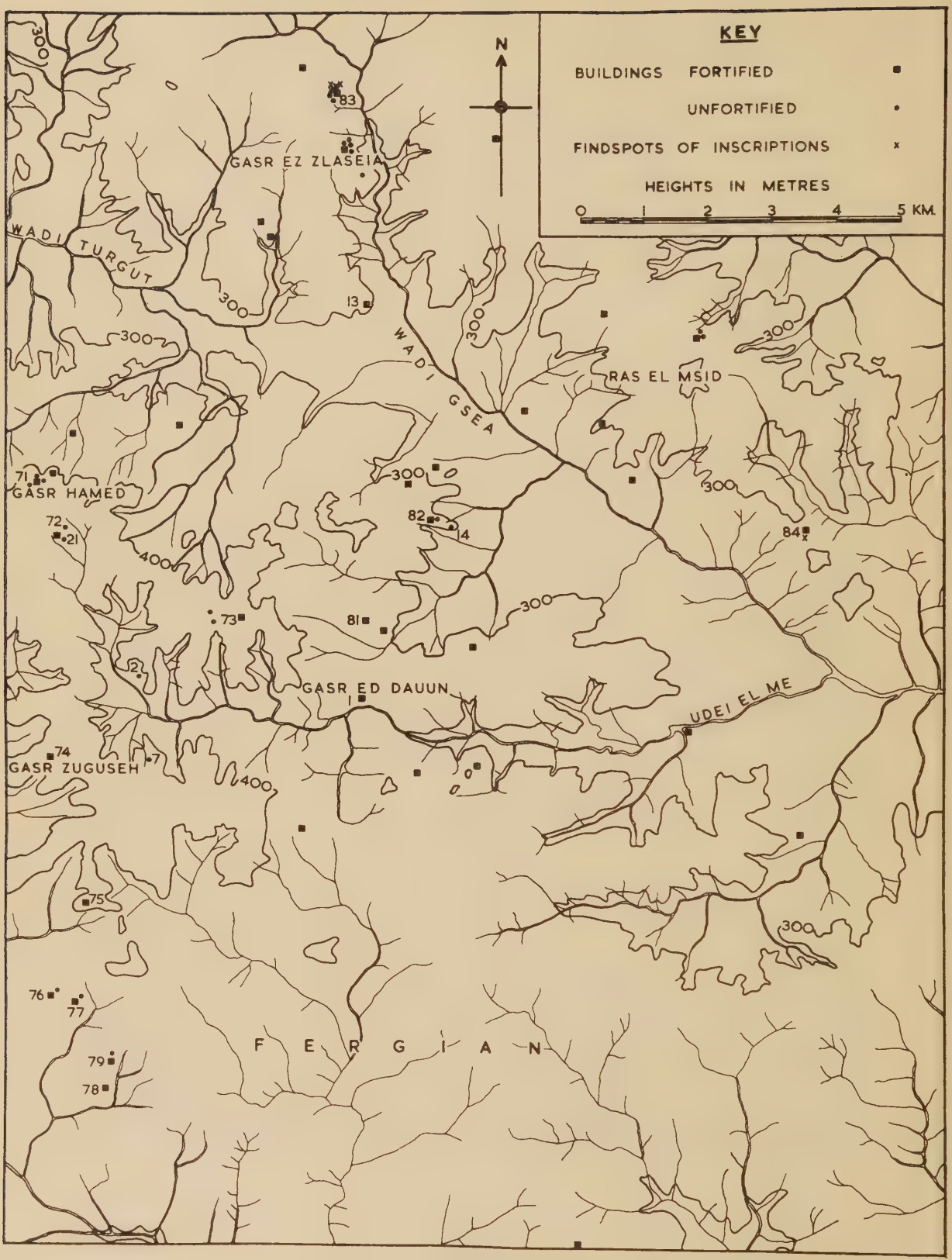

KEY
BUILDINGS FORTIFIED
UNFORTIFIED
FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS
HEIGHTS IN METRES
0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.
N
GASR EZ ZLASEIA
WADI TURGUT
WADI GSEA
RAS EL MSID
GASR HAMED
GASR ED DAUUN
UDEI EL ME
GASR ZUGUSEH
F E R G I A N
300
400
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
81
82
83
84

FIG. 1.

blocks, dry-built or at most set in a soft, crumbling mortar. Where a supply of dressed blocks was available from an abandoned olive farm in the vicinity, these were employed in the lower courses and at the corners of large buildings, imparting an aspect of regularity which is sometimes difficult to distinguish from earlier work. Close examination will, however, usually reveal some particular stone, perhaps an olive-press upright, that has been diverted from its original purpose.

The *gsur* vary greatly in aspect. The basic, and perhaps the earliest, form is the square tower of two or more storeys, already familiar to us in the *limes* settlements of the pre-desert area.[3] But on some sites the tower appears to have been only one of an irregular complex of structures within the perimeter wall, and on others there is no indication that any building had more than one storey. In regions where the climate has permitted subsequent settlement, the sites have suffered both from the higher rainfall and from the depredations of stone-robbers, and it is often difficult to obtain a clear idea of their original form. Those which were built of small blocks have degenerated under these conditions into mere mounds of rubble, on whose surface it is, at most, possible to detect the outlines of the building and some traces of its interior partitions. Where the re-use of earlier material made for more massive construction, parts of the outer walls are occasionally visible, but we are still left to infer the presence or absence of upper storeys from the quantity of debris, and by analogy with similar structures in more arid country to the south. It is possible that, in the internal walls and the upper parts of some *gsur*, stone was supplemented by mud brick, although there is no direct evidence of this in our area.

In dealing with the smaller and more primitive huts we have correspondingly greater difficulty, and the examples, of the only distinctive pattern so far recognised, may represent only a fraction of the sites that could be assigned to this period by excavation. In its simplest form the hut is a plain square or rectangle with sides varying from 4 to 7 metres; the distinguishing feature of this type is the roof pillar which stands opposite the doorway, adjoining or at a short distance from the back wall, and probably carried a central beam whose front end rested on the lintel. The floor of the hut excavated at Site 14 in Wadi Gsea was originally about 70 centimetres below ground level, rising with the accumulation of ashes and debris to −40 centimetres, but this may have been merely a local expedient to utilise the foundations of previously existing walls. The masonry consisted largely of unbonded rubble, but was stabilised with orthostats at the corners and door-jambs, and sometimes at irregular intervals along the walls, apparently in barbaric imitation of the method of construction widely used in the previous period. Both hut and *gasr* often have a forecourt bounded by an irregular rubble wall, which probably served as a pen for sheep and goats; a similar pen, with a thorn hedge, is an integral part of the modern native encampment.

II. INDIVIDUAL SITES

In order to point the contrast with the previous period, sites to illustrate this paper have been chosen from localities whose earlier settlement has already been described, and

[3] See R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The Limes Tripolitanus in the light of recent discoveries', *Journal of Roman Studies* xxxix, 1949, p. 84, and Goodchild, 'Limes Tripolitanus II', *Journal of Roman Studies* xl, 1950, p. 30.

as far as possible the descriptions are arranged in the same geographical sequence. The places mentioned are, as before, numbered on the accompanying map (fig. 1); those which appeared in the catalogue of Roman sites retain their original numbers. We shall again begin with Gasr ed-Dauun, the site of the modern market and of the Roman village of Subututtu.

(1) *Gasr ed-Dauun* (fig. 2). See vol. xxi, pp. 89–92.

A glance at the air photograph[4] reveals two considerable ruins of which no account has yet been given; these are identified on the key as 'Berber' and 'Turkish' forts. The Berber fort (fig. 2), on a prominent spur to the east of the wells, is now little more than a mound of rubble, but its main outlines are visible, and excavation to recover the plan of the two gateways revealed that its walls are still standing to a height of some 3 metres. The outer walls vary from 1·40 to 1·90 metres in thickness, the inner walls from 70 to 90 centimetres; the masonry throughout is of roughly squared small blocks, with a rubble core, set in a crumbling sandy mortar. The main gateway, at the north-west end overlooking the ancient and modern roads, was covered by a curtain wall, and led through a short passage into an irregular courtyard, 30 metres by 26 at its widest point. Rooms opened off the courtyard on all sides, and at the north-east end a second gateway led out on to the neck of the ridge, where traces of other walls mark the position of outbuildings. The quantity of rubble suggests that parts at least of the main building rose to a considerable height, but there is as yet no close analogy for its layout. The only approach to the fort is a steep path from the north-east end of the ancient village, and it would appear to have been built to control the wells and the tracks which converge upon them, though the irregularity both of its plan and its masonry make it unlikely that it was an official post. The date of its erection is uncertain, but the discovery of sherds of red burnished ware, of late Roman type, just above the earth floor within the north-west gateway show that it was occupied early in the period under discussion. The remains of a coarse cooking-pot were found beside the ashes of a fire inside the south-east gate, and the section of the fill in the main entrance shows a thick layer of ash with calcined stones, followed by alternating layers of fallen rubble and weathered ground surfaces, suggesting that it was suddenly destroyed by fire and then abandoned to gradual collapse. At some later date it was replaced by the 'Turkish' fort on the low hill overlooking the wells from the west, which was last used as a carabinieri post during the early years of the Italian occupation, and had previously been intermittently occupied by Turkish detachments. The writer examined it and its surroundings with care, but could find no support for the suggestion that it was of Roman or Byzantine origin; not a single sherd of ancient pottery was found on the hill.

Superficial examination does not permit us to say whether the village in the valley below continued to exist under the protection of the fort, though it must have remained a watering point, and perhaps a market for the neighbouring countryside, as it is today. Nor is there any evidence of the date at which the extensive system of wadi gardens, terraced behind concrete dams in Udei el-Me and its tributaries, went out of use. But at all events there is no trace of new buildings of this period in the village, and very little

[4] A vertical air photograph of Gasr ed-Dauun appears in 'Roman Period', pl. XXIV, and a key plan in fig. 4, p. 91 of the same article.

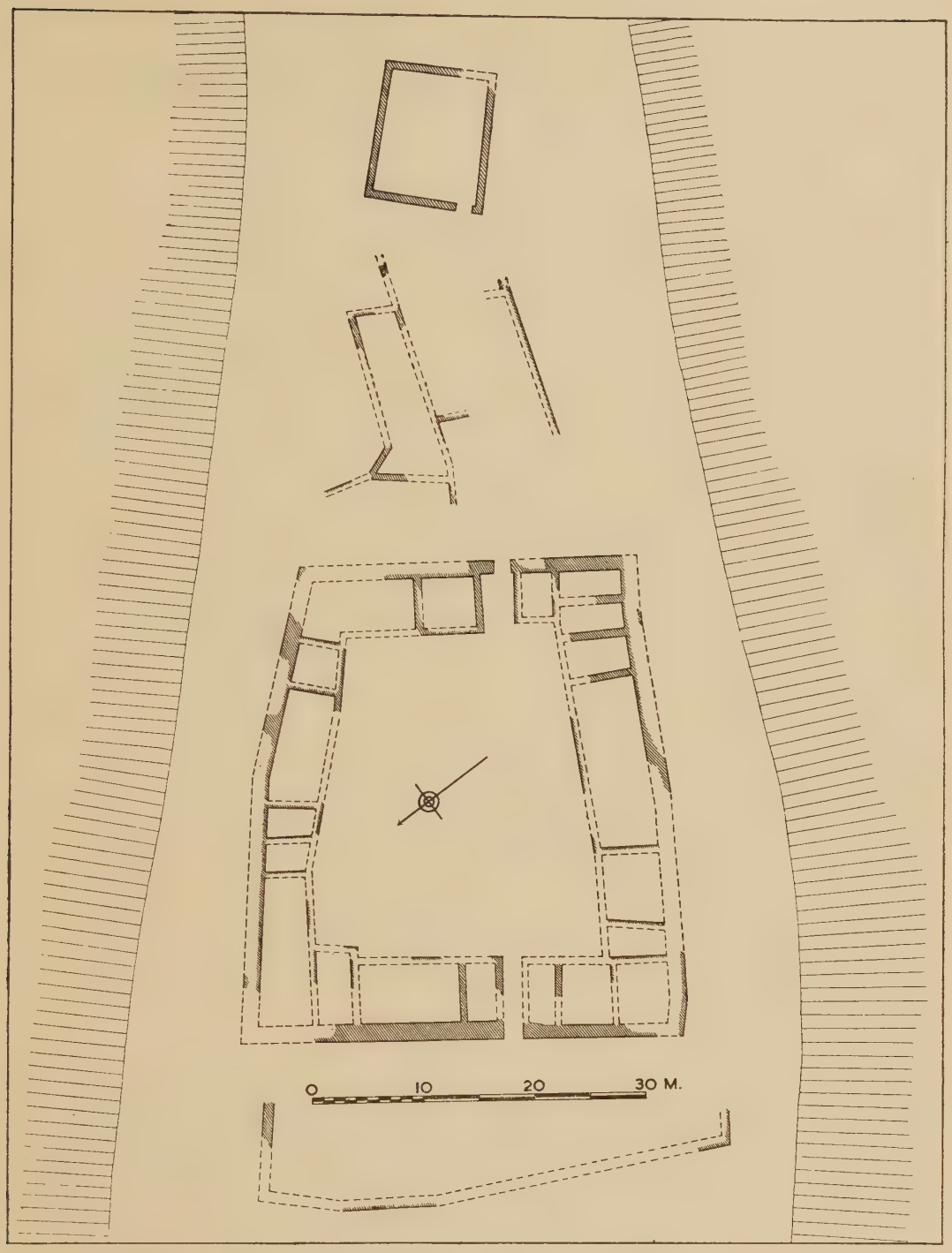


FIG. 2.—GASR ED-DAUUN. THE BERBER FORT.

in the upper valley to the west, where small olive farms had been so numerous. There are signs of reoccupation on one farm north of the road—Site 2—and a typical group of three huts with a forecourt beside the watercourse 75 metres south-west of Site 7, but it is not until we move on to the crest of the plateau some 3 kilometres north of the road that we find any extensive settlement.

(2) *The Eastern Tarbuna Plateau* (Pl. XIV, *a* and *b*; figs. 3–5).

Here, on the lip of the escarpment overlooking the deep Turgut valley, we have an example of the small village of this period, Gasr Hamed (Site 71, fig. 3). The central feature of the village is a *gasr* approximately 11 metres square (pl. XIV, *a*). The outer faces of its walls, which stand in places up to 3 metres in height, are of dressed blocks in courses of 50–60 centimetres, with a thickness of *c.* 50 centimetres. The total thickness of the outer walls, with the rubble core and inner face, part of which can be seen on the east side, is 1·60 metres. The doorway was probably on the south side, at the point where the wall has collapsed, and led into a long chamber running the full width of the building. The face of the back wall of this room is visible at two points, and the space behind it probably housed two smaller rooms, conforming to a pattern very common in the smaller *gsur*. The presence of a second storey built of small stones can be inferred, but there is no evidence of the method of roofing employed at either level. The huts (pl. XIV, *b*) surrounding the *gasr* on all sides except the north-east, where the ground falls away steeply to the top of the escarpment, are sufficiently well preserved to afford a good instance of the layout of the poorer dwellings, whose basic pattern has been described above. Almost all have the characteristic orthostat near the back wall opposite the door; but in the largest hut of all, on the east side, the doorway is offset to one side, and its place taken inside the front wall by a masonry pier, perhaps because the unusual length of the roof-beam demanded some more solid support than the lintel could afford. The walls are up to a metre thick, of dry-built rubble, strengthened at corners and doorways with dressed orthostats; these, together with the roof pillars and the blocks forming the outer face of the *gasr*, were probably obtained from an olive farm some 200 metres to the south-east. The huts are arranged in groups of two or three rooms opening on to a communal courtyard; there is often no direct communication between the courtyards, and the impression given is of a number of independent units, perhaps family groups, living together for mutual protection under the shadow of the *gasr* in which they could take refuge in time of trouble. The courtyards indicate that they kept livestock, while the absence of olive presses suggests that, at any rate on this exposed upland, the trees had already disappeared.

On the ridge one kilometre to the south-east is another small group of sites of considerable interest. On the south-west slope, just above one of the tributary gullies of Udei el-Me, stands a *gasr* 13 metres square (Site 21, fig. 4), whose lower storey was built, as at Gasr Hamed, of blocks with a core and inner face of rubble. The block courses are 60 centimetres wide, and the total thickness of the walls varies from 1·20 to 1·40 metres; they survive to a maximum height of 3·50 metres. Nothing is visible of the interior plan, but it seems probable that the doorway opened into the courtyard on the south side. On the east is another small courtyard with a hut at the northern end, and two other huts lie 25 metres north-east and 15 metres south-east of the *gasr*. In

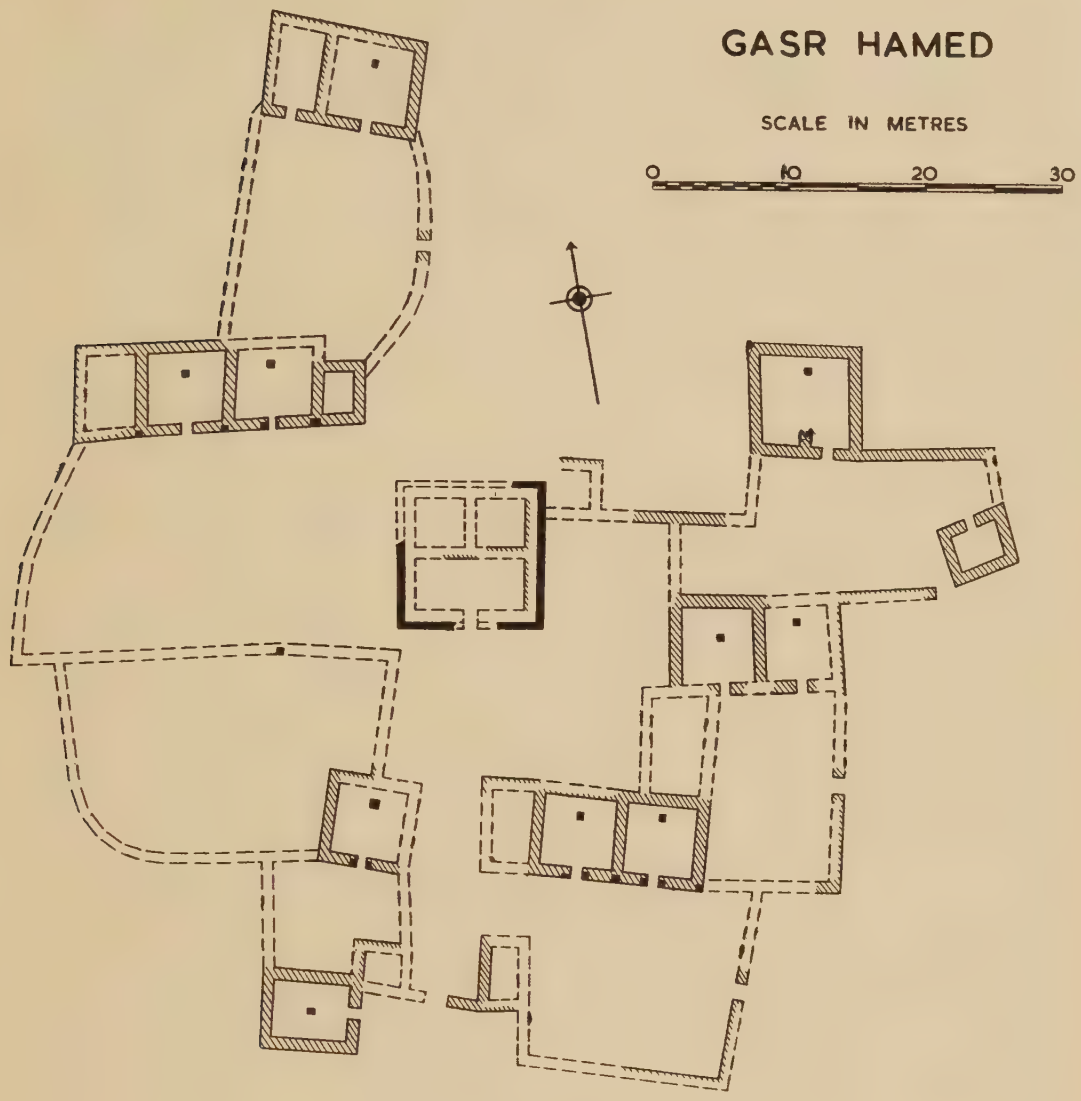


FIG. 3.

Note.—In this and the following figures black is used to indicate ashlar masonry; wide and narrow spaced hatching represent dry-built rubble and concrete respectively. Wall faces are shown by a continuous line where they are visible, and by a broken line where their existence is inferred, but their exact position uncertain.

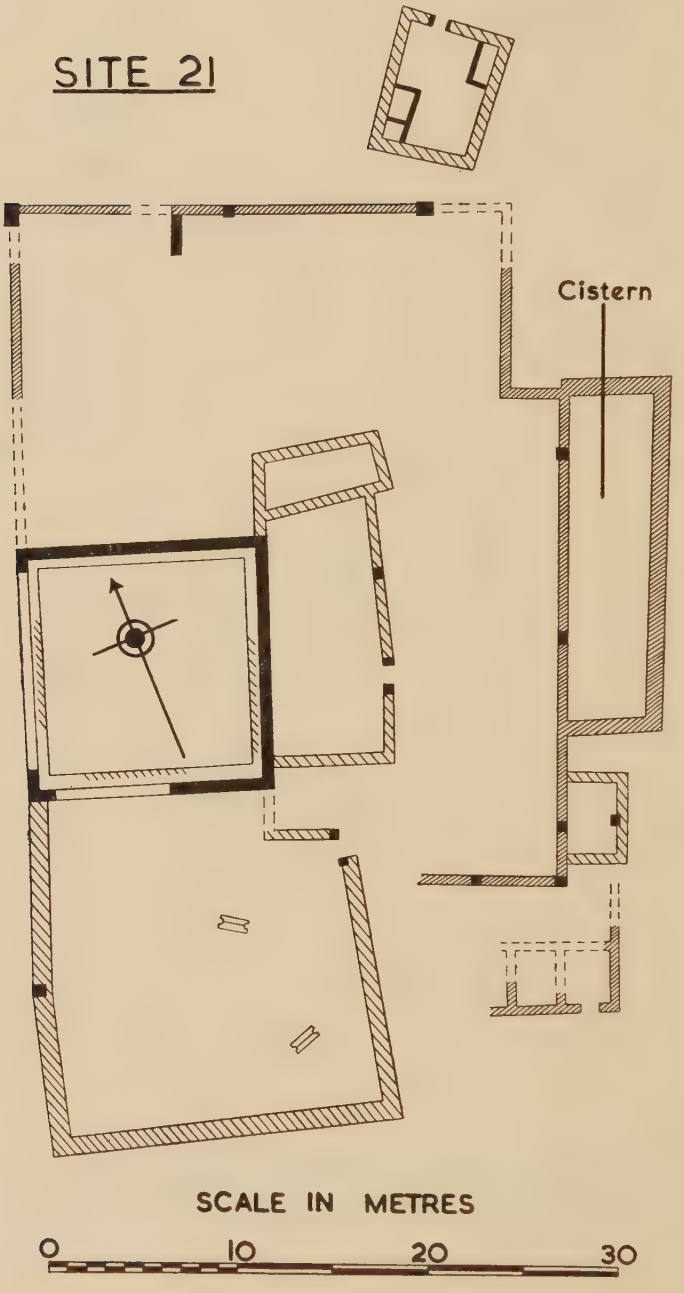


FIG. 4.

opposite corners of the larger hut can be traced the remains of compartments formed of stone slabs set on edge, possibly store bins for grain or forage. The western and perhaps other walls of the *gasr* are raised on the foundations of an earlier olive farm, vestiges of which are visible on the north and east sides. Much of the dressed stone from the farm was incorporated in the later buildings, but surviving traces of its walls show that it was of the usual courtyard type, with most of the rooms on the more sheltered southern side. At the south-east corner can be seen two of a line of small rooms, one with a doorway opening to the south. The east wall of this room continues northwards, and one of its orthostats was utilised, *in situ*, as the roof pillar of the later hut. Traces of *opus signinum* near the inner face of this wall suggest that one of the olive presses of the farm originally stood nearby; the existence of at least two presses is attested by their weight-stones, which are lying in the main courtyard of the *gasr*, but there is no suggestion that they remained in use during the second occupation of the site. The later settlers were presumably attracted by the supply of worked stone, and also by the capacious cistern, 17 by 4 metres, whose foundations can be seen along the eastern side of the farm, outside the courtyard wall.

Two minor finds on this site deserve especial mention. On the south face of one of the corner blocks at the south-west angle of the *gasr* is carved, in low relief, a crude phallus; the face of the block is flush with the adjacent masonry, so that the carving may be contemporary with, or even ante-date, the erection of the building, but is probably not a later addition. Lying close by is another broken block with traces of an incised inscription in Arabic characters, whose dimensions and the position of the lettering show that it, too, was built into the south-west corner. Only a few letters are legible in each of the four lines, but the opening word is clearly 'Allah', and part of the name 'Muhammad' seems to occur in the third line. The habit of placing simple religious invocations and apotropaic texts on the walls of the *gsur* was common in the Christian period, and this discovery indicates that it continued after the advent of Islam; neither creed apparently suppressed the local faith in, and preoccupation with, the magical motif of fertility. This particular site may, of course, be of Early Islamic date, but is clearly of the type which originated in the late Roman period.

On the top of the ridge, 150 metres to the north-east of the *gasr*, are the ruins of more huts, centred around a more complex building (Site 72, fig. 5). It consists of an enclosure entered through a gate in the east wall; the northern half of the enclosure is occupied by three rooms, the largest of which has a roof pillar opposite the door. The outside wall of this room incorporates in its rubble masonry a pair of olive-press uprights, a relic of an earlier establishment of whose walls fragments can be seen in the vicinity. The other half of the enclosure was apparently open to the sky, and against its western wall stood an olive press whose monolithic uprights and weight-stone, with part of the pressing slab, are still *in situ*. A doorway in the south wall gives on to a second courtyard containing relics of another press, whose uprights have disappeared, only their recessed base and the pressing slab being visible. This may perhaps belong to the earlier period of occupation, since the uprights stood in the line of, rather than backed against, the courtyard wall, and the operation of the press appears to be obstructed by two huts built against the south wall of the main enclosure. Alternatively, these huts with their courtyard may themselves be later than the main building. The crude masonry and lay-

out of this site place it in the category under discussion, and indeed it superseded a Roman farm; but there can be little doubt that at least one of the olive presses it contains is contemporary with it. It is interesting to note that although the stone elements of the press are identical with those of the previous period and were probably re-used, they are arranged to operate with a beam only 6 metres long. This would mean a serious loss in mechanical efficiency, and suggests that beams of the old standard length of 9 metres were no longer locally obtainable, although the number of olive trees in the neighbourhood still warranted the erection of a new press.

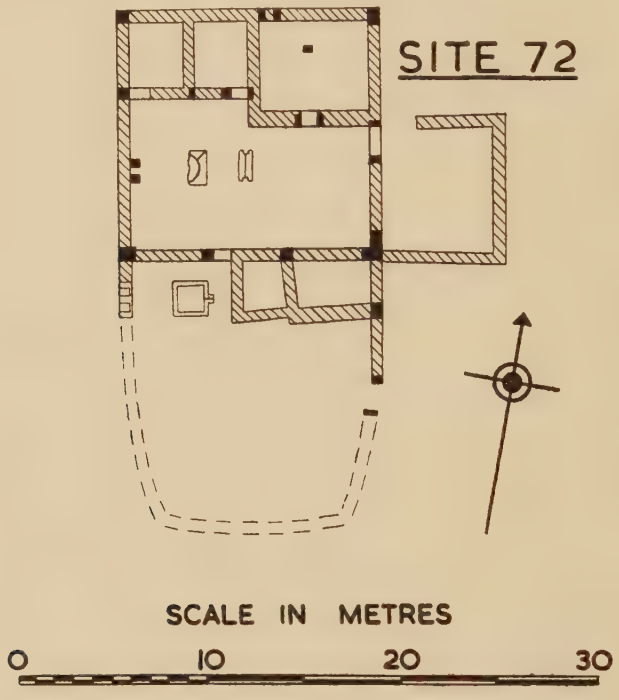


FIG. 5.

There are no longer any trees in the immediate vicinity, but a grove—one of the very few native plantations on the plateau—still survives near the small village of Clella, which overlooks Wadi Turgut from the escarpment 4 kilometres south-east of Gasr Hamed. Here again we find the extensively robbed ruins of farm buildings of the earlier period (Sites 23 and 24), with four or five presses. They were succeeded by two small groups of huts similar to those at Gasr Hamed, whose characteristic roof pillars protrude in places from the fallen masonry, and a more or less contemporary *gasr* beside the modern village some 500 metres to the east (Site 73). No presses are found in direct association with either the huts or the *gasr*, but here and elsewhere some of those belonging to the earlier period may have continued in use after the farms had been abandoned. The whole ensemble at Clella gives the impression of continuous settle-

ment, but with a progressive contraction of the large olive groves, whose existence is implied by the Roman presses, to the score of trees remaining at the present day.

(3) *The Fergian* (Pl. XIV, *c* and *d*; figs. 6 and 7).

Turning to the Fergian district south of the road, we find that settlement is now both thinner on the ground and more limited in its scope. It is not possible to claim that all sites of the period have been identified, difficult as they are to distinguish from their rocky surroundings, but the whole area has been covered, and the ten sites marked on this section of the map give a representative idea of their distribution. It has already been observed that there is no sign of deliberate destruction or subsequent re-use of the large olive farms such as Henscir Sidi Hamdan,[5] and in fact it is clear that much of the high rolling country which had attracted settlers in the previous period was no longer considered desirable for permanent occupation. It may have been cultivated, as small areas of it are today, by seasonal migrants from elsewhere, but permanent dwellings are confined to the high ground overlooking the wadis of Fergian and et-Tmarmura—the upper watercourse of Tareglat under different names—and Udei el-Me. This suggests that the inhabitants were now interested, in addition to their herding, in the cultivation of the watercourses, the traditional means of livelihood in the pre-desert country of which the Fergian was rapidly becoming a part. This change is most marked in Wadi Tareglat itself, which had been the southern boundary of the Romano-Punic farms, but is now dotted with groups of *gsur* very similar to those in Wadi Merdum or Wadi Sofeggin far to the south.

Of the Fergian sites few demand detailed consideration here. The northernmost (Site 74) deserves record as an example of the havoc wrought on many sites by recent building activity. It stands on the eastern edge of the Italian settlement of Breviglieri, and now consists of a heap of debris with two or three courses of dressed blocks, outlining a *gasr* 16 by 14 metres; nothing can be seen of the internal layout. H. S. Cowper, who visited it in 1895 and describes it under the name of Gasr Zuguseh,[6] says that it was a castle-like building of large square blocks, and stood, as can be seen from his photograph, five or six courses high. He also describes and illustrates phallic and other symbols cut in relief on the north-west and south-east corners, concluding that they were contemporary with the building. The sculptures on the south-east angle were accompanied by an inscription of unknown meaning, in Latin characters. It is hardly necessary to point out the correspondence, in the grouping of relief and inscription and their location on the building, between Gasr Zuguseh and our Site 21, although the inscriptions themselves are in Latin and Arabic script respectively. No sign of the carved blocks could be found on the site, and they were presumably destroyed by the builders of the Italian settlement in the valley below. Even the name of the site is now locally unknown, but its identity is clear enough from Cowper's topographical description.

The five sites which line the eastern side of the wide valley of Wadi Fergian are very similar in type. The first (Site 75), just over 2 kilometres south of Gasr Zuguseh, consists of a rubble-walled enclosure some 20 metres square, with a blockhouse in the

[5] 'Roman Period', pp. 97–9.

[6] H. S. Cowper, *The Hill of the Graces*, London, 1897, pp. 153, 163, and 259, figs. 42 and 47. The inscription has been republished by J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, (= *IRT*), 878.

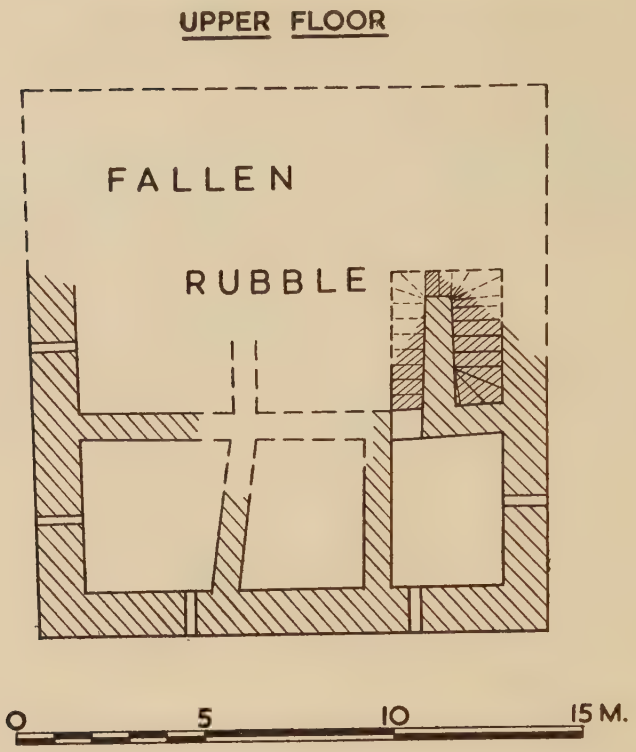


FIG. 6.—GASR HAIUNA.

middle of its southern side, the whole being surrounded by a ditch 10 metres in width. The scanty sherds round about included fragments of lamps of coarse red ware, with a simply moulded decoration of circles and fronds in relief, which suggest a late fourth-century or fifth-century date. 1½ kilometres to the south two heaps of stones on a prominent spur are the remains of small *gsur* of dry-built rubble, *c.* 9 metres square

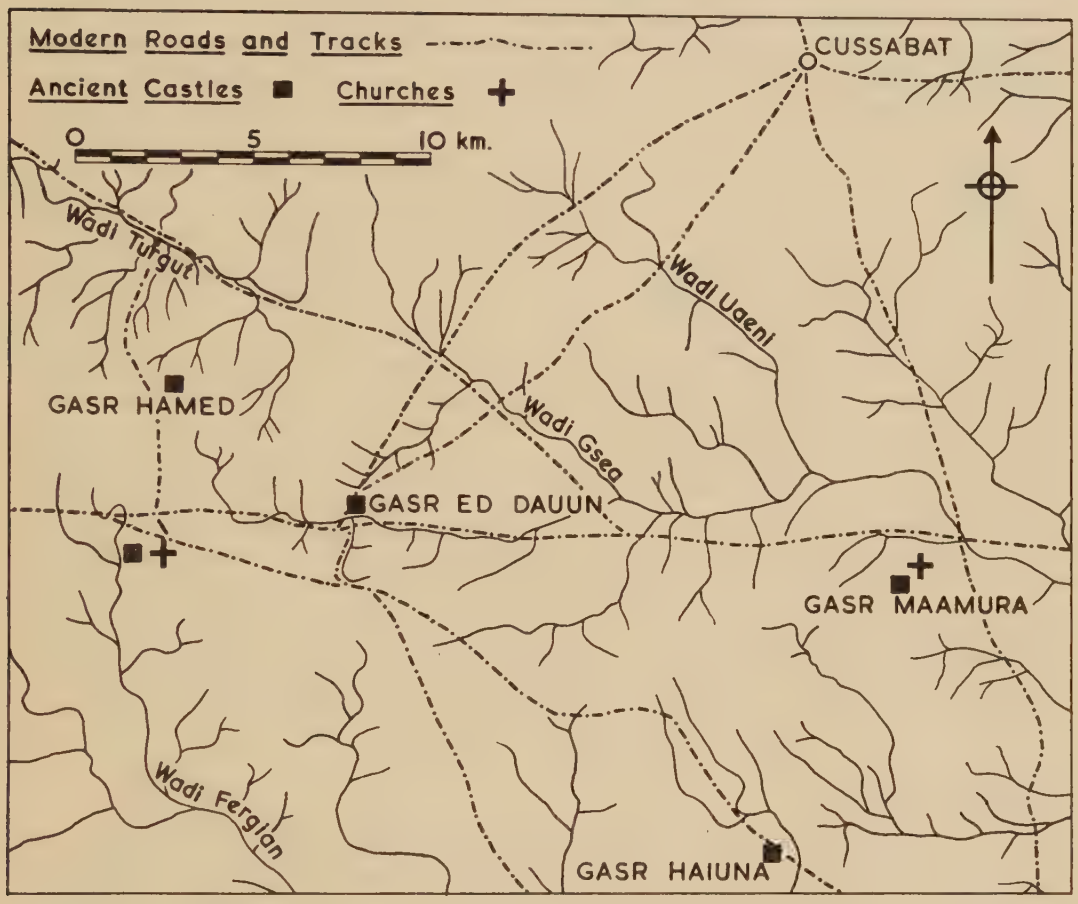


Fig. 7.

(Sites 76 and 77); each had a forecourt and three or four huts on its north-east side. Of a similar pair 1½ kilometres farther south (Sites 78 and 79), the southern site is in the same ruined state, but in the northern *gasr* three or four courses of roughly squared small blocks, 75 centimetres long by 25 high, appear in places on the outer face; the whole building measured 9·20 by 9 metres, with walls 1·90 metres thick. Here, too, the remains of huts extend along the ridge. These *gsur* can never have been more than poor examples of their type, and it is therefore noteworthy that at least one of them was occupied early in the period, while pottery of Roman type was still in use, and that

the poor masonry seems to reflect a lack of better material ready to hand rather than a late date.

To obtain an idea of the original aspect of a typical *gasr*, we must look at a site in the eastern Fergian, where better materials were used, and subsequent conditions have been more favourable to survival. Gasr Haiuna (Site 80, fig. 6 and map, fig. 7) lies 6 kilometres south-east of Sidi Hamdan, and just west of Wadi Haiuna. An olive farm had stood on the far side of the watercourse, and olive-press fragments suggest that there may have been another on the site of the *gasr* itself, though the ruins of a hut village conceal any surviving foundations. At all events there was a supply of dressed stone at hand for its builders. The olive trees themselves seem to have disappeared before the advent of the later settlers, who represent an outlying group of the wadi cultivators along the Tareglat, of which Wadi Haiuna is a tributary. The *gasr* (pl. XIV, *c*) is an imposing structure $14\frac{1}{2}$ by $13\frac{1}{2}$ metres, faced with large re-used blocks in its lower courses, which degenerate into plain rubble at the top. The walls vary in thickness from 1·60 to 2 metres at the base, with a core and inner face of rubble. The doorway is on the south-east side, and leads into a long vaulted room running the full width of the building; the vault was lined with rough plaster, with a criss-cross cable pattern in relief—a common Early Islamic motif, though not necessarily an original feature. From this room a second doorway led into another, irregularly shaped chamber, also vaulted, at whose right-hand end an arched stairway gave access to the upper floor (pl. XIV, *d*). The north-west side of the *gasr* is covered in fallen stone, but the outline of three other doorways leading into small inner rooms can be seen. At the top of the stair a central landing may have been open to the sky; along the front of the building are three small rooms, two of them lit by slit windows, and the remains of a fourth in the middle of the south-west side, with perhaps another three along the back. The crude masonry employed in the upper storey explains of itself the collapse of similar structures in the northern Gebel, and the whole site provides a necessary link between them and their progenitors in the old frontier zone—it would in fact be difficult to distinguish Gasr Haiuna from any of the later *gsur* in the Orfella wadis, 100 kilometres to the south.

(4) *Wadi Gsea* (fig. 8).

We must conclude this brief account of the ordinary sites of the period with a reference to Wadi Gsea, the heart of our area and the modern boundary of the native olive farmers of Msellata. Settlement of all periods is dense in this fertile valley, but its recent occupation by the Italian colonists of Villaggio Marconi has denuded most of the ancient sites, and only the most robust survive in recognisable form. One of these (Site 81, fig. 8), which stands on a hilltop just over a kilometre north of Gasr ed-Dauun, is worthy of mention as a variant from the pattern of blockhouse hitherto described. It is surrounded by a scarped ditch 12–15 metres wide, on whose inner lip stands a perimeter wall of rubble 1·20 metres thick, with an entrance on the south-east side leading into an irregular courtyard. In the south corner of the courtyard stood a large building, whose size and massive masonry suggests that it may have been a two-storeyed 'keep' of the familiar form. On the north-east side of the yard is a line of rooms, and in the north corner a larger room some 5 metres square, with a central roof pillar, and the uprights of

an olive press built into its north-west wall. It is interesting to note that, if the press is *in situ*—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—the beam cannot have been more than 5 metres long, a feature already observed on Site 72.[7] In the west corner of the

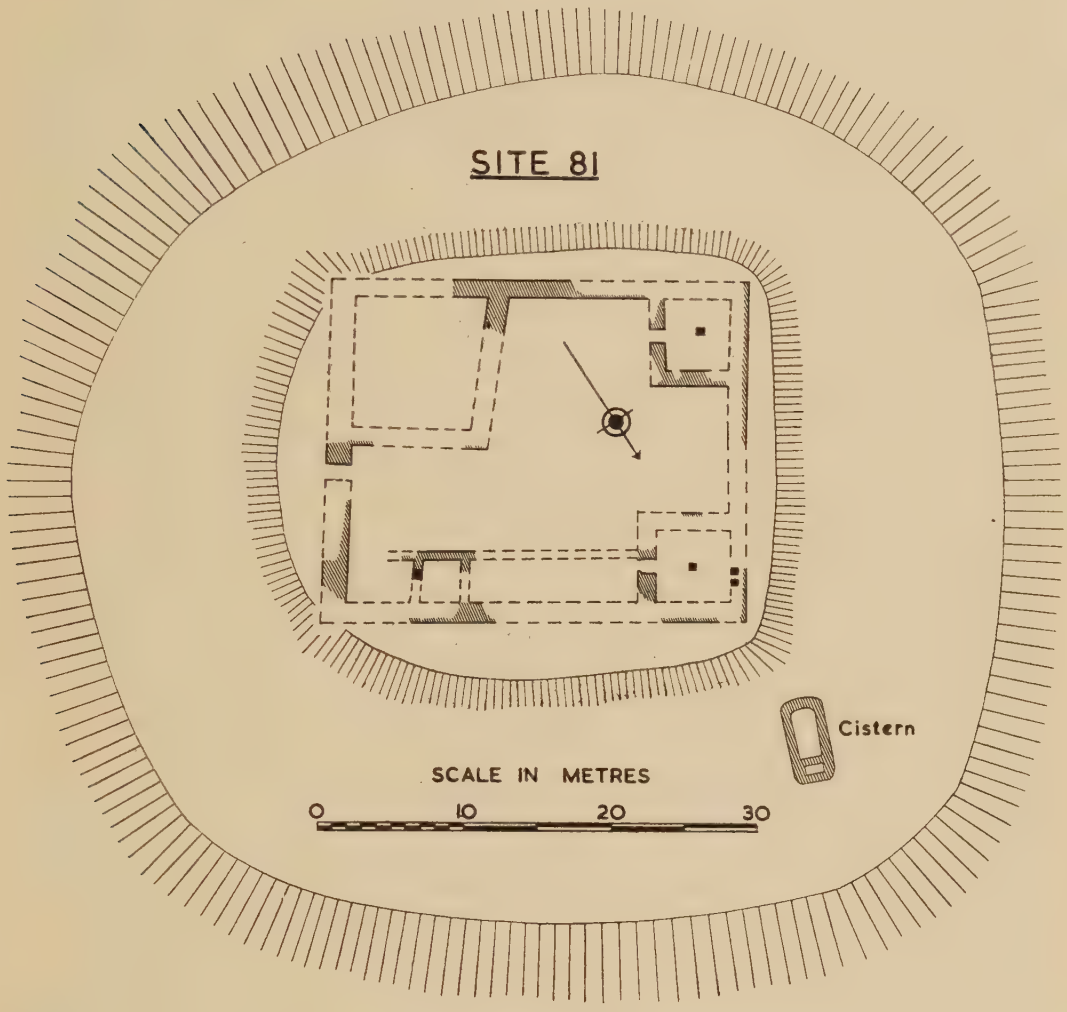


FIG. 8.

yard was another similar room, also with a central roof pillar. The lintel of its doorway, like that of the main entrance, was made up of two blocks, now lying on the ground nearby, whose lower sides have been cut away to reproduce the form of an arch, with false voussoirs incised upon them; the arch itself was apparently beyond the skill of the builders. On the slope below the north angle of the *gasr* a small cistern was placed to catch rain-water, with a silt-tank on its lower side. Ruins of huts are visible on the lower

[7] See p. 100 above.

slopes of the hill, and a few sherds of red burnished ware were found on and around the site.

Another example of the curious phallic reliefs previously noted occurs on a site 2 kilometres to the north-east, known to Cowper as Senam el-Gharabah (Site 53).[8] Unfortunately the only surviving features are the imposing monolithic uprights of an olive press, which with their capstone attain a height of 4 metres. The sculpture, a phallus in the form of a small animal, is cut high up on the face of the left-hand upright as it is seen from the south-west side. The disappearance of the surrounding buildings makes it impossible to assign the press or the relief to a particular period, though Cowper considered them to be contemporary. A further sculpture of the same type was found on Site 82, a small blockhouse 900 metres to the west. The three or four surviving courses of large blocks in this building have plainly been robbed from an olive farm, and include fragments of olive-press uprights with their recessed footing stone. It is irregular in shape, with three sides of just over 12 metres and the fourth of 10·40 metres. On the east side traces of rubble walls mark the sites of a few huts, and a short distance to the south an upright, *in situ*, formed part of a press, probably belonging to the *gasr*, since there is no sign of earlier buildings nearby. The relief occurs on a corner block at the north-east angle of the *gasr*, and consists of a crude triple phallus; again it appears to be contemporary with, or earlier than, the erection of the building, and its position at the corner must have had some special significance unknown to us.

Three other places in Wadi Gsea have produced reliefs or inscriptions, one funerary, the others originally incorporated in buildings of which unfortunately little trace has survived. The most important find consisted of four blocks from a ditched *gasr* at the head of the valley, one kilometre north of Gasr ez-Zlaseia. The building within the ditch (Site 83) occupied an area 35 by 12 metres, with a keep measuring some 14 by 12 metres. Two of the blocks,[9] one bearing a Chi-Rho monogram, and the other an extended hand in relief with the words 'Dom(inus) Benedixit', show that the inhabitants of the *gasr* were formally Christian; the third bears an almost illegible acclamatory inscription in very debased Latin, and the fourth a fragment of another Latin inscription, which may have recorded the erection of a building on the site. Another acclamatory inscription, again Christian, was recovered from the ruins of a small rubble *gasr* (Site 84) on the east side of Wadi Gsea, 3 kilometres south-east of Ras el-Msid. The walls have completely collapsed, but the building was about 9 metres square, and bears a strong resemblance to the small sites (Nos. 75–79) in the western Fergian. The inscribed block probably formed the lintel of the doorway, and bears an incised Chi-Rho monogram, with a Latin text wishing prosperity to the owner and his family.[10] The last inscription of the Gsea group was found 2 kilometres to the east of the last site, beside the tributary watercourse known as Wadi Uaeni. The discovery was made in unusual circumstances, since the writer had been invited to inspect the tomb of a *marabout*, or local saint, of great holiness and such antiquity that his name had been forgotten in the neighbourhood. This tomb, the central point of a small Muslim cemetery, consisted of a pointed stele, now broken in two pieces, recording in Latin characters but in the Libyan

[8] *The Hill of the Graces*, p. 153 and frontispiece.

[9] The block bearing the Chi-Rho monogram has been published and illustrated by Ward Perkins and Goodchild, 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, p. 48 and pl. XIIIc. For details of inscriptions from this site see Appendix I, pp. 113–14, nos. 1–3.

[10] Appendix I, p. 115.

language the burial of one Julius Flavius, one of the most common names among the fourth-century *limitanei* on the southern frontier.[11]

(5) *Gasr Maamura* (Pls. XV, XVI, *a* and *c*; fig. 9).

The sites described above have been chosen for their representative character rather than for their individual interest. We must now turn to one less typical, but of great intrinsic significance for the interpretation of the society as a whole. Gasr Maamura (Site 85) is prominently situated on an isolated spur overlooking Wadi Gsea from the west, 17 kilometres east of Gasr ed-Dauun, and immediately above Podere No. 135 of the Italian settlement of Marconi. Its ruins (Pl. XV; fig. 9) occupy a narrow, precipitous ridge, some 100 metres in length. The northernmost building, on the tip of the ridge, was a Christian chapel,[12] of whose plan only the general lines can be determined: the massive walls and vaults have collapsed both inwards and outwards, presenting on the outside a glacis of rubble on all save the northern face, which still stands sheer, and filling the central area almost to vault-height. The plan is that of a triconchos, with a transverse corridor or narthex on the fourth side, opposite the central, northern apse. The three half-domed apses open off, and buttress, a central rectangular hall, and are inscribed within rectangular projections, which form the three arms of a truncated cross. The northern arm of this cross is substantially intact, inside and out;[13] the eastern arm is fallen; while the western arm is intact internally, save for a large hole near the crown of the half-dome, but has fallen away externally, exposing large areas of the rough core of the wall. Each of the apses was divided at vault-height from the central, rectangular hall by a screen-wall, and access from the one to the other was by an arched doorway; the jagged outline of the arch, which was originally about 2 metres wide, can be seen within the eastern apse (pl. XVI, *a*). The screen wall was also pierced by a row of three small rectangular openings at a height of *c.* 1·50 metres above the arch, and the apses were lit from the outside by downward-slanting windows, one of which can be seen in profile in the broken masonry of the eastern apse. Above the western, and perhaps also the northern apses, are traces of a second, apsidal storey, which lay open to the central hall; among the debris above the western apse were found large numbers of small, coloured-glass tesserae, attesting the former existence of multi-coloured wall- or vault-mosaics.

The masonry throughout consists of loosely concreted rubble, faced with small coursed blocks, carefully pointed on the inner faces. None of the exterior corners survives above ground. The vaults are more carefully coursed, with flat or wedge-shaped blocks used as voussoirs near the crown. The central hall was probably timber-roofed, and several fallen blocks of a simple cornice come probably from the spring of this roof. Other sculptural fragments include carved brackets (pl. XVI, *c*) and sections of rectangular pilasters, which appear to have stood at the corners of the central hall, and a column of imported grey granite. With this exception all the stone appears to be local, and probably came from a quarry on the south side of the hill.

[11] Appendix I, p. 115, No. 5.

[12] The chapel has been published by Ward Perkins and Goodchild, 'Christian Antiquities' (n. 9), p. 47, pls. XX*a* and XXI*d*. The description given here differs from theirs only in detail, and I am indebted to them for permission to reproduce it. The survey (fig. 9) is the work of Dr. A. Wells.

[13] On the occasion of the writer's last visit, in 1952, a large vertical crack had newly opened in the northern apse.

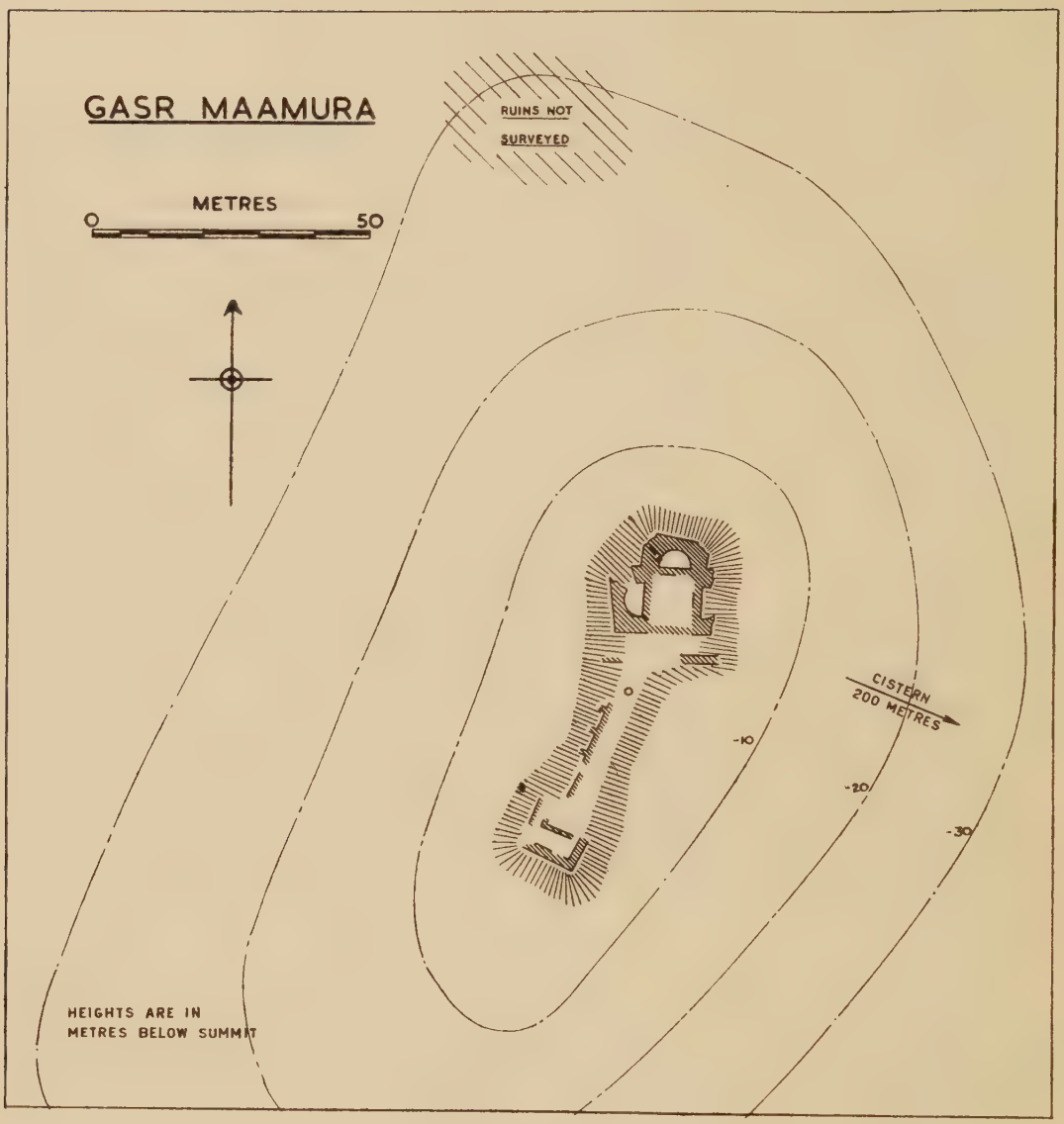

GASR MAAMURA
RUINS NOT SURVEYED
METRES
0
50
CISTERN 200 METRES
0
-10
-20
-30
HEIGHTS ARE IN METRES BELOW SUMMIT

FIG. 9.

The other buildings on the ridge are constructed of similar masonry, and are probably contemporary with the chapel. Along the north-west side of the ridge was a line of rooms, whose lower sides have collapsed, leaving only the upper wall and the stubs of three partitions projecting over the slope. These rooms linked the chapel with a *gasr*, some 10 metres square, which crowns the south-west end of the ridge. Its south-west and south-east walls, together with the lower part of the north-west wall, are still standing, but the interior, and the side towards the chapel, are buried in rubble, and little of the internal arrangement is visible. The doorway probably faced the chapel, and part of the vault of a ground-floor room on this side emerges from the debris. On an artificial terrace which skirts the hillside 30 metres below are the ruins of rubble huts, and in the valley to the south-east a large vaulted cistern, 64 by 3·50 metres, divided into two chambers, and with a silt-tank at either end. There was a second, smaller cistern at the foot of the hill to the north, and the total storage capacity for water on this site must, at a conservative estimate, have exceeded a million litres.

The architectural connections of the triconchos form have already been discussed, as far as it is profitable to do so without excavation, by Ward Perkins and Goodchild in their paper on the Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania.[14] It has not previously been recorded in Libya, but parallels sufficiently close to suggest a possible derivation are found in Tunisia. We are here more particularly concerned with the local function of the site as a whole, and in this connection it is necessary to reiterate the comparison between Gasr Maamura and two other Tripolitanian sites, Chafagi Aamer near Mizda, and the church and *gasr* near Henscir el-Aftah, 6 kilometres west of Gasr ed-Dauun in the Italian settlement of Breviglieri. On each of these sites a church and a *gasr*, apparently contemporary, are found in close proximity, and seem to form with their adjacent buildings a single social unit. The resemblance to Chafagi Aamer[15] is very striking, as the two sites occupy almost identical positions on projecting spurs, dominating the surrounding countryside; but the comparison with Breviglieri is for the moment more instructive, since the whole complex was excavated by Professor Caputo in the years 1939–42,[16] and the church has since been demonstrated by Ward Perkins to be pre-Justinianic in its original form. Since the settlement appears to be under the protection of the *gasr*, it is unlikely to be later than the church, and we may safely presume that it, too, was erected towards the end of the fourth or, more probably, during the first half of the fifth century. It is considerably larger (24 by 23 metres) than the corresponding building at Gasr Maamura, a difference which may reflect its relative importance or merely the absence of any physical limitation on its flatter site. Over its doorway was an inscription in the Libyan language, written in Latin characters, which apparently describes it as the *centenarium* of Marcus Caecilius Bumupal.[17] The significance of the word *centenarium* has been discussed by Goodchild, who has shown that it originated on the southern frontier in the early third century and, locally, described the residence of a *centenarius*, an officer among the soldier farmers of the *limes*. We shall revert at a later stage to the question of the position of the *centenarius* in the Gebel in the fifth century.

[14] *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 59.
[15] *ibid.*, pp. 50–4 and pl. XX*b*.
[16] A brief account of this site appeared in *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero Romano* xiii, 1942, pp. 151–2; the church has been republished in 'Christian Antiquities', pp. 44–7.
[17] *IRT* 877. Discussed by Goodchild, 'Some Inscriptions from Tripolitania', *Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities* ii, Tripoli, 1949, p. 32.

It is necessary at this point to observe that both the *gsur* are typical, in form and construction, of the period with which we are dealing; and that the *centenarium* of Bumupal is set close to the junction of routes from the Tareglat and Turgut with the old Roman highway, while Gasr Maamura commands the crossing of the southern track from Gasr ed-Dauun to the coast and the caravan route from Cussabat, the capital of Msellata, to the Orfella by way of Wadi Tareglat (fig. 7). Taking into consideration the meaning of Maamura—the place 'of many goods' or 'of many people'—and the fact that it is provided with a water-supply far beyond the needs of its inhabitants, we may conclude that each *gasr* with its church and adjacent buildings represents a secular and religious centre for the people whose less imposing dwellings we have seen in the intervening countryside.

III. THE HAWARRA

Having dealt summarily with the archaeological material, let us look at some of the sparse literary references to the territory in the Byzantine and Islamic periods. We have already seen that Ibn Abd al-Hakam,[18] writing in the ninth century, records a tradition that the large Berber tribe of the Louata had in earlier times spread over Tripolitania and Tunisia as far as Sousse, and that the territories of Lepcis and Sabratha had been occupied by two fractions of this tribe, respectively the Hawarra and the Nefusa. The Nefusa are to be found to this day in the Berber-speaking areas south of Sabratha; Hawarra, on the other hand, does not survive as a tribal name, nor do the tribes of the eastern Gebel now regard themselves as Berbers. The date of this invasion is not given in the text, but the further statement that the invaders ousted the *Rum*, i.e. Romanised people, who owned the land, points to the late fourth and early fifth century, the period of destruction of Romano-Punic culture in the interior and the virtual abandonment of Lepcis. The account given by Procopius of events in Tripolitania during the Byzantine reconquest makes it clear that the Louata, or Leuathae, were in occupation by that time, and gives us incidental information about their society. Speaking of the inhabitants of Libya in general, he quotes the curious tradition of their Canaanite origin, and continues:

> 'Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in war, and settled the Moors at the extremity of the inhabited land in Libya.'[19]

This would seem to be a reference to the settlement of local tribesmen as soldier farmers under Alexander Severus and his successors, and it is therefore especially interesting that he regards the Leuathae as Moors, not as Libyans, who in his terminology were the Punicised natives of the coastal belt. In his time the Leuathae were established in Tripolitania but not, as yet, in southern Tunisia, although they were in the habit of raiding into Byzacium.[20] The centre to which they sent their delegates to meet the Byzantine general Sergius was Lepcis, and the ostensible object of the delegation was—

> 'that Sergius might give them the gifts and insignia of office which were customary, and so make the peace secure.'[21]

[18] Ibn Abd al-Hakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers, 1948, pp. 35–7; quoted in 'Roman Period', p. 113.

[19] *de bello Vandalico*, IV, 10. [20] IV, 28. [21] IV, 21.

The customary gifts probably represent a traditional subvention to the people of the frontier, the payment of which is not specified in earlier times, but would have been necessary to ensure at first the survival of the settlements, and later their good behaviour. The nature of the insignia is more fully explained in another passage:

> 'It was a law among the Moors that no-one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the Romans should give him the tokens of the office.'[22]

It is clear that the tradition of authority among the Leuathae was Roman, but that by the fifth century it no longer implied a specific allegiance or obligation. This accords well with the evidence of the Breviglieri settlement, a district-centre controlled by a Libyan bearing a Roman quasi-military title, and built on the model of a frontier post at a time when it is unlikely that any effective frontier organisation survived.

Neither Vandals nor Byzantines succeeded in establishing their rule over the Leuathae, and it appears that the first Arab conquerors, who were comparatively few in number, confined themselves to garrisoning the coastal cities. More surprisingly, even the nomad hordes of the Beni Hillal and Beni Soleim did not overwhelm the Berbers of the eastern Gebel as is commonly supposed. El-Bekri, writing in 1068, records that

> 'the castle of Lebda (i.e. Lepcis) . . . is held by a troop of about a thousand Arab horsemen, who are continually at war with the Berber tribes of the country round about. These tribes could put into the field twenty thousand fighting men, counting horsemen and their retainers, yet allow themselves to be dominated by the Arabs.'[23]

In 1154 Al-Idrisi, describing Lebda, says

> 'There remain only two castles of considerable size, where Berbers of the tribe of Hawarra have established themselves . . . The land around Lebda produces dates and olives, from which a considerable yield of oil is obtained in the season.'[24]

And finally the testimony of Ibn Khaldun[25] provides a link with modern times. The historian of the Berbers says that in his time (*c.* 1380) many fractions of the Hawarra survived in their ancient home in Tripolitania; some, among them many tribes in Gebel Msellata, were settled, others, including by this time the Tarhuna as well as the Orfella, had become nomadic. These tribes now speak Arabic and describe themselves as Arabs, but the evidence for their Hawarrid origin is clear.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The Hawarra, then, were a powerful Berber tribal group, whose existence can be traced through the medieval period from their earliest appearance as a section of the Louata in the fourth or fifth centuries, until their disintegration, probably in part the result of the impact of the Beni Hillal and Beni Soleim, into smaller and less homo-

[22] III, 25.
[23] El-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, tr. de Slane, 1913, p. 26.
[24] *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, text and tr. by R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, 1866, p. 154.
[25] Ibn Khaldun, *History of the Berbers*, tr. de Slane, Vol. 1, p. 280.

geneous units bearing the modern tribal names of eastern Tripolitania. At the same time we have archaeological evidence for the transition from the Romanised, Punic-speaking society of the first three centuries, through a period of violence and destruction, to the prosperous but barbaric settlements whose remains have been described in this paper. From the sites alone it would be difficult to decide with certainty whether this change represented a movement of people, or merely a local reaction to military insecurity and economic collapse; although the close correspondence between the buildings themselves and the fortified farms of the later *limes*, the replacement of Punic by Libyan or debased Latin, the argot of the *limitanei*, as the common language, and the appearance of *centenarii* in the Gebel would point to the former explanation. But when we collate also the evidence of Procopius and Ibn Abd al-Hakam, it becomes clear that a general movement of people did take place at this time. To sum up, the weakening of imperial control over the frontier settlements had permitted their military organisation, probably based in origin on the tribal system, to become a social, almost feudal, hierarchy. At the same time the various tribes collectively described as Louata, or Leuathae, took advantage of their growing prosperity to occupy the richer lands they were originally intended to protect; but although their responsibility to the Empire was forgotten, the tradition of the Emperor as the fount of orthodox authority remained.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, when the occupation of some of the sites can be proved by identifiable sherds of late Roman type, we have a fairly clear general picture of the society which had established itself in the eastern Gebel. The appearance of the *gasr*, either as a fortified farmhouse or as a place of refuge for the surrounding settlements, reflects both a building tradition and the continuing insecurity of the countryside; but the density of occupation suggests a considerable prosperity, at least comparable with that of Msellata at the present day, and the literary evidence testifies to the power of the Hawarrid tribes. It is impossible to determine what proportion of the olive groves of Roman times survived the invasions, since many of the presses may have remained in use after the surrounding buildings had been abandoned; and if the pressing was spread over a long period after the harvest, one press would serve many more trees, though the quality of the oil would be inferior. At the same time the emphasis on herding, as an adjunct to agriculture, is attested by the folds which appear on most of the sites, and the coming of sheep and goats in large numbers would rapidly destroy the trees and lead to the erosion of the countryside. The lack of timber is in fact marked by the shortening of the olive-press beam, and by the common use of stone vaulting in the *gsur*.

The people probably spoke, and sometimes wrote, in Libyan, a language whose origin and interpretation are still unknown, though it may have affinities with modern Berber. They also used frontier Latin for some of their inscriptions. Their religion presents a more difficult problem; there is no sign of Christianity in the civilised society of the preceding period, and it is possible that the earliest invaders, who probably came from the region of Sirte, were also pagan.[26] But the churches at Breviglieri and Gasr Maamura show that a formal conversion had taken place before the coming of the Byzantines, although the persistence of more primitive beliefs can be seen in the phallic

[26] This would explain the presence, in 397, of barbarians between the episcopal sees of the coast and those of the *regio Arzugitana*, which was probably the *limes* area. For a discussion of the evidence for the *limes* in the late fourth century, and the Syrtic origin of the Austuriani, see Goodchild, 'Limes Tripolitanus II', *Journal of Roman Studies* xl, 1950, pp. 30–1.

emblems of fertility, the apotropaic extended hand found in a Christian, and later as the hand of Fatma in a Muslim, context, and in the traditional Libyan cult of the holy man.[27] No mausolea of this period have been discovered, and the method of burial was probably simple interment, sometimes marked by a pointed stele.

Settlements of this type have now been identified from Wadi Sofeggin in the south to Msellata in the north. It seems possible that the very similar fortified farms of the Tarhuna plateau [28] should also be assigned to this period, and that the earlier, Romano-Punic settlement has here been all but obliterated by recent development. Professor Caputo has also informed the writer that huts, similar to those described above, were found in the latest occupation levels at Lepcis. The chronology of the period after the Islamic occupation of the coast is impossible to define without excavation. Of the Orfella settlements only the single stretch of Wadi Beni Ulid now survives in something approaching its original form; of the thirty-odd villages which line the sides of the gorge above and below Beni Ulid itself, many have a deserted *gasr* as their nucleus. The Tarhuna, as we have seen, had become nomadic cultivators by the time of Ibn Khaldun; while the Msellata, whose territory enjoys the highest rainfall in Tripolitania (*c.* 400 millimetres per annum), have preserved their way of life unchanged, though the breakdown of the distinction between Arab and Berber in the eastern Gebel, and the coming of comparative security under the Turkish and later regimes, has led to the abandonment of the *gsur* and the building of open villages.

Much more detailed work, including excavation, is necessary before the broad outline of development, which has been sketched in these two articles, can be amplified and corrected. But the picture, however incomplete, is of interest as an illustration of the influence of a European power on a small part of North Africa, the prosperity and social organisation which it brought to the native population, and the final local reaction against its declining strength.

DAVID OATES

APPENDIX I—INSCRIPTIONS

1. A weathered block of local limestone, 82 cm. long, 30 high and 15 thick, found in the ruins of a ditched *gasr* (Site 83) on a hilltop just west of Wadi Gsea, and about 6 km. north-west of Marconi village centre (see p. 106 and pl. XVI, *d*). The inscription occurs on the right-hand end of the long, dressed face, and is flanked by an extended hand in bold relief.

DOM(inus) BENEDI
XIT

The first nine letters are 12–13 cm. high, roughly scratched; the last three have been compressed into the lower border and are 4 cm. high. The remainder of this border is occupied, on either side of the hand, by a debased bead-and-reel motif. If so, the block is perhaps part of a lintel, which was formerly symmetrical about the hand-symbol. Along the upper edge of the stone, and at the right-hand end, the border is

[27] Cf. 'Roman Period', p. 111.
[28] R. G. Goodchild, 'Roman Sites on the Tarhuna Plateau of Tripolitania', *Papers of the British School at Rome* xix, 1951, pp. 59–62.

marked by a simple line; at the left-hand end it does not exist, and the block may be broken here.

The apotropaic hand is a common pagan symbol in classical times (e.g., the bronze relief recovered in 1932 from the imperial galleys sunk in the lake of Nemi, S. Aurigemma, *Guida del Museo Nazionale Romano*, p. 88 and pl. XLVI), and, as the hand of Fatma, is in universal use as an amulet among the Muslim population today; but the writer knows of no comparable instance of its appearance in a Christian context.

2. A limestone slab 28 cm. thick and 1·05 m. long; a bevel on the upper edge reduces its height from 68 cm. on the inscribed face to 40 cm. at the back. Found on the same site as No. 1; originally, when laid flat, it formed part of a simple cornice, and was probably robbed from an earlier olive farm. The letters are roughly scratched, with an average height of 8 cm.

HVMILITAS O IN . . . . . .
LABOR O OBSEQVIVS PER
QVAISTA OMNIA PER
FICIAS [v]N[v]M AMES CEV[m] *sic*
[sis] FELIX VABALIVS DONA
TINA EIVS O PATREM EXVBERANS

The O in the first, second, and last lines is probably a spacing device, and may represent a vestigial monogram cross (cf. two inscriptions from Breviglieri, published by Goodchild, 'Roman Sites on the Tarhuna Plateau', *PBSR* xix, 1951, Appendix III, 2 and 3 = *IRT* 875 and 876, where the cross is found both complete and as a plain circle). The reading of line 4 is uncertain, but the C may represent a reversed D. The interpretation is complicated by the use of the nominative throughout, except for the accusative 'patrem' in the last line, and it is necessary to assume that case-endings had no significance for the writer. The following translation is tentatively suggested:

> 'By . . . humility and dutiful labour may you achieve all your aims, may you love the one God (?), may you be fortunate, Vabalius. Donatina joyfully (salutes) her father.'

3. A broken limestone block, 65 cm. high, 27 thick, and with a surviving width of 50 cm.; found on the same site as Nos. 1 and 2. The inscription, of which only the right-hand end is preserved, was enclosed in a *tabella ansata*, ornamented at the corners with formal fronds. The letters, better formed and more deeply incised than in the preceding inscriptions, are 7 cm. high.

. . . IER . . . .
. . . . O . . . . .
RI IVSSIT
ET DISPON
NDAMEN . . .

No interpretation can be offered, but the presence of 'iussit' in line 3 suggests that the text originally recorded the name of the man by whose orders a building was erected on the site.

4. A limestone block, 90 cm. long, 30 high, and 35 thick, found among the ruins of a small *gasr* below the south end of Gebel Msid, 3 km. east-south-east of Marconi village centre (Site 84, p. 103; Ward Perkins and Goodchild, 'Christian Antiquities', *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, p. 49). The crudely inscribed text is divided into two parts by a large Chi-Rho monogram; the lettering to the left of the monogram is 8 cm. high, to the right 5 cm.

IN OC		GRANII BI
SIG	Chi-Rho	BAS CVM
NO	Monogram	FILIS ET NEP
		OTIBVS

The use of B for V in 'bibas' is common in Libyan inscriptions (cf. the inscribed block from Sidi bu Laaba near Breviglieri, *IRT* 876).

Inscriptions Nos. 1–4 are now in Lepcis Museum.

5. A pointed limestone stele, now broken in two pieces, originally 1·80 m. high, 50 cm. wide, and 27 cm. thick; found beside the watercourse of Wadi Uaeni about 1 km. north of its confluence with Wadi Gsea (map ref. M 246 214; see p. 106). The stone is now venerated as the tomb of a holy man, and recent offerings of broken pots had been left at its base (pl. XVI, *b*). The inscription is enclosed within a *tabella ansata*, 45 by 40 cm., whose right-hand edge has been slightly damaged, without affecting the lettering. The letters vary from 7 to 10 cm. in height.

IVFLAV	
SANVAVLXVI	(AV *ligatured*)
HOCFILLYTH	(HO *ligatured*)
MIASANVAV	
XXXIII	

The text is obscured by the coarse diagonal claw-dressing of the face on which it is incised, but the language is clearly Libyan, and the first two lines can be read 'Jul(ius) Flav(ius) sanu av LXVI'. 'Sanu av', from its frequent occurrence on Libyan tombstones followed by a number, has been recognised as meaning 'lived . . . years' (Goodchild, 'The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania', *Antiquaries Journal* xxx, 1950, pp. 135–44). The same formula recurring in line 4 shows that a second burial is also recorded on this stone. Line 3 is more difficult, and the reading is by no means certain. If the language, or part of its vocabulary, is of Semitic origin, then 'fillyth' would appear to be a causative form of the root 'f.l.th.', of which we may plausibly recognise a participle in the word 'mufelth', found in the second line of the Breviglieri *centenarium* inscription referred to above (p. 109 and *IRT* 877). We may then hazard the suggestion, and it can be no more, that 'mufelth' means 'erected', and 'fillyth' 'caused to be erected'. We are left with 'hoc', perhaps borrowed from Latin; and in line 4 'mia', which precedes 'sanu av', and is therefore likely to be a proper name. A possible interpretation, then, is

'Julius Flavius lived 66 years; Mia caused this (stone) to be erected, and lived 33 years'.

There is no other record of 'Mia' as a personal name; but the names Julius and Flavius are, as Goodchild has observed, the only Latin names occurring on the Libyan tombstones of fourth-century *tribuni* at the cemetery of Bir el-Dreder in Wadi Sofeggin ('Limes Tripolitanus II', *Journal of Roman Studies* xl, 1950, p. 31). Thus this inscription, whatever its precise meaning, provides another firm link between the pre-desert area and the Gebel in the late fourth or fifth centuries.

APPENDIX II—CATALOGUE OF SITES

Map references are to the Tarhuna sheet of the 100,000 series (wartime edition with Libyan grid). The detailed map (fig. 1) covers the area 20 km. north and 15 km. west of the point M 100 100.

1. Sites referred to in the text.

(a) Earlier sites reoccupied

No.		*Map Reference*
1	Gasr ed-Dauun (p. 94)	M 156 188
2	(p. 96)	M 122 192
7	(p. 96)	M 124 180
13	(p. 91)	M 158 253
14	(p. 93)	M 172 216
21	Phallic relief (p. 96)	M 109 215

(b) Sites newly occupied

71	Gasr Hamed (p. 96)	M 105 223
72	(p. 99)	M 110 216
73	Clella (p. 100)	M 138 201
74	Gasr Zuguseh—reliefs and inscription, now lost (p. 101)	M 107 178
75	(p. 101)	M 113 154
76	(p. 103)	M 107 140
77	(p. 103)	M 111 139
78	(p. 103)	M 116 125
79	(p. 103)	M 117 129
80	Gasr Haiuna (p. 104)	(Homs sheet) M 277 094
81	(p. 104)	M 158 200
82	Phallic sculpture (p. 106)	M 168 216
83	Inscriptions and Chi-Rho relief (p. 106)	M 153 284
84	Inscription with incised Chi-Rho monogram (p. 106)	M 227 215
85	Gasr Maamura—Christian chapel (p. 107)	(Homs sheet) M 313 172

2. Other sites, not individually described.

(a) Previously occupied

No.		*Map Reference*
11		M 201 224
12		M 197 250
50		M 161 199
56	Gasr ez-Zlaseia	M 156 278
62		M 210 184
64		M 142 263
67		M 111 232
68		M 211 247

(b) Newly occupied

Eastern Tarbuna and Fergian

86	Sidi Agub	M 108 224
87	. . . . .	M 166 175
88	. . . . .	M 175 176
89	Henscir Isa	M 158 167
90	Gasr Atash	M 191 100

Wadi Gsea

91	. . . . .	M 147 288
92	Henscir ed-Desciscia	M 183 234
93	. . . . .	M 195 231
94	. . . . .	M 178 279
95	. . . . .	M 164 252
96	. . . . .	M 169 255
97	. . . . .	M 175 196
98	. . . . .	M 226 166

Wadi Turgut

99	Sidi Maammer	M 128 233
100	. . . . .	M 141 265

'COMBINED OPERATIONS' IN SICILY, A.D. 1060–78 [1]

A RECENTLY published history of naval power and trade in the Mediterranean in the early medieval period [2] provides a reminder of that vital but little-explored change in the balance of maritime power which preceded the Crusades and of the movement which won back for the Christians of the West, Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta, threatened the shores of Africa and Albania, and was both a rehearsal and an essential preliminary for the great *Drang nach Osten* which was to follow. Little is known of the shipping used in these operations or of the tactics employed, but an attempt has been made to investigate the scanty sources for the Norman naval operations in the early stages of their conquest of southern Italy and Sicily, not merely because some of these operations were important in their immediate results, but also as an example of the naval technique of the Latin Christian military commanders in southern Europe. The subject derives additional interest from the spectacle it affords of Vikings finding their sea-legs again after many decades as farmers and cavalrymen in Normandy. It also offers one explanation for the conquest of the considerable area of southern Italy and Sicily by a comparatively small force, and once again demonstrates the eclecticism and adaptability of the Normans.

By 1060 the Normans had begun to consolidate their position on the mainland of southern Italy. Over forty years of warfare and brigandage had culminated in 1059 in Pope Nicholas II's investiture of Robert Guiscard de Hauteville as Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and of Richard of Aversa as Prince of Capua. 1060 saw Guiscard's conquest of Reggio, and although his position in Apulia was still insecure, he began preparations for the invasion of Sicily.

The operations with which this paper is concerned extend from the first raid on the port of Messina from the Calabrian mainland in 1060 to the abandonment of the siege of Naples in 1078. Up to 1076 there appears to be no reference to the construction of ships by the Normans, but a description of the fleet which sailed to Trapani in that year [3] suggests that new ships had been built for the expedition, and a fleet was certainly built in the Apulian ports for the Albanian landing of 1081. After the Normans set up as ship-builders in the South a new situation arose, and this later period has been studied by Cohn in his book on the Norman–Sicilian fleet.[4]

Within the period 1060–78 there were four sets of operations involving Norman naval and military forces. The first of these comprised the three landings in the neighbourhood of Messina in the years 1060–61, which led up to the capture of that city. The first of these landings was a reconnaissance to the walls of Messina, the

[1] This paper is based on a communication read to the Cambridge Historical Society in November 1951. I am much indebted to Mr. T. C. Lethbridge for giving me the benefit of his knowledge of nautical matters.

[2] A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, 500–1100* (Princeton, N.J., 1951).

[3] G. Malaterra, [*De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. E. Pontieri in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, n.s., v, 1], p. 58.

[4] W. Cohn, *Die Geschichte der Normannisch-Sizilischen Flotte* (Breslau, 1910). This book is useless for the period before 1076, because Cohn starts from the unsupported assumption that the Normans must from the start have built all the ships they used.

second a raid in the north-eastern tip of Sicily (including an assault on Messina), and the third a direct and successful attack on the city. Since the capture of a bridgehead on the island, including the port and city of Messina, was the vital stage in the eventual conquest of the whole of Sicily, and since these operations most nearly resembled 'combined operations' in the modern sense, they will be considered at some length later in this paper.

The other operations involved co-operation between the Norman army and fleet in sieges, as well as naval battles, and the transportation of troops, but not 'assault landings'. The first series of these, and the most important, took place between 1068 and 1071 and led up to the capture of Bari, the last Byzantine base on the Italian mainland.[5] The Normans completely encircled Bari by sea and land, linking the ships nearest the shore to the land by means of bridges; nevertheless, some ships were able to break out and ask for reinforcements, and grain was smuggled into Bari by Byzantine ships, but in 1071 the defeat of a big relieving Byzantine fleet compelled the garrison to submit. Apart from this decisive sea-battle, in which nine of the twenty Byzantine vessels taking part were sunk, there were several minor naval engagements, in one of which the Byzantines lost twelve ships.[6] The second of the great combined siege operations, that against Palermo, was begun as soon as the siege of Bari had been triumphantly concluded. Again a major city, which had already been assaulted unsuccessfully from the land alone, was captured by means of a siege from land and sea, this time within a few months.[7] At Palermo there was one naval engagement, in which the Norman fleet failed to prevent the arrival of a relieving Moslem fleet from Africa. In general, however, the siege was maintained successfully, and starvation seems to have been the main cause of the defenders' poor showing when the city was assaulted from the land after a siege lasting some four months. Thus at Christmas 1071 the Normans had within a few months captured the provincial capitals of the two major powers opposing them, and in each case sea power had played a big part in the victory.[8] The last operations to be considered are the amphibious sieges of Salerno in 1076 and of Naples in 1077–78; [9] the former, undertaken in conjunction with the naval forces of Amalfi, was successful, the latter seems to have been abandoned.

The major problem presented by these operations is the provenance and nature of the ships used by the Normans. The possibility of the Normans themselves having built these ships can be discounted. There is no reason to suppose that the Norman knights in Italy had shipwrights with them, nor are there any halts in their operations which can be explained by the need to build ships before proceeding further. More conclusively, not a single source suggests that the Normans built their own ships

[5] The main sources for the siege of Bari are Malaterra, pp. 48–51: Aimé [of Montecassino, *Storia dei Normanni*, ed. V. De Bartholomaeis in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*], pp. 248–55; William of Apulia [*Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., ix], pp. 263–8; and Lupus Protospatarius, [ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, v], p. 153.

[6] The passage in Lupus Protospatarius describing this battle is obscure, but makes sense if it is read as *multi homines necati sunt et alios compraehenserunt Franci* (reading *alios* for *alii*).

[7] The main sources for the siege of Palermo are Malaterra, pp. 52–3: Aimé, pp. 275–82: and William of Apulia, pp. 269–72.

[8] The Normans had also captured Catania on their way to Palermo, but the only weapon employed seems to have been treachery (F. Chalandon [*Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie*], i, 206).

[9] Malaterra, pp. 58–9: Aimé, pp. 349, 354–6, 366–7, 372; William of Apulia, p. 274.

before 1076, while their use of the already existing ships at Reggio (against Messina) is described by a chronicler,[10] who also implies that the Normans decided to capture Bari before Palermo simply because the ships taken in the former port might make possible the capture of the latter (a siege of Palermo by land only having failed in 1064). There was no shortage of ships in Byzantine Italy at this time, and it was only natural that the Normans should use those which they found rather than build new ones, especially because their sailors (as we shall see) were local men accustomed to these ships. When operations began against Messina in 1060 the Normans already held Otranto, Taranto, Brindisi, Reggio, and a host of lesser ports in Apulia and Calabria. What sort of vessels did they find in these ports? For the most part, no doubt, they found fishing and trading vessels, but they also certainly found ships which, if not designed primarily for war, were at least capable of being adapted for naval use. At a rather earlier period the Greek authorities had compelled ports to furnish a certain number of ships for the defence of the long and exposed coastline of Byzantine Italy,[11] and it is noteworthy that the Apulian port of Monopoli lost twelve vessels in one of the engagements which took place during the siege of Bari.[12] The specifically naval forces of Byzantium in the area had probably never been very strong and were often reinforced by Venetian assistance, but they were certainly not negligible, and together with the considerable merchant fleets of Taranto, Brindisi, Otranto, and smaller ports would have been sufficient for the needs of the Normans in the period under consideration. At least three times in the preceding hundred years (in 964, 1025, and 1038) a Byzantine fleet based on Italy had taken part in an invasion of Sicily, and elements of such a fleet would almost certainly have been available to the Normans for their invasion in 1061.

Information about the types of vessel employed by the Normans is disappointingly scarce, for the chroniclers content themselves in most contexts with a vague reference to *naves*. The ships used in 1061 in the landing which led to the capture of Messina are, however, described by Malaterra as 'galleys' and *germundi*, while Aimé of Monte Cassino mentions that Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger used two fast galleys to reconnoitre the port of Messina before this operation.[13] Now the galleys of the Byzantine fleet, which were long open ships normally used for scouting and carrying a complement of some seventy men,[14] are exactly the type of naval vessel that one would expect to find available to the Normans in the captured ports of southern Italy. The ships provided by these ports were presumably galleys rather than dromons, or ships of the line, which were much larger and more elaborate affairs and were probably based on Byzantium itself or occasionally on the major ports of strategically important themes. Malaterra's *germundi* present a more difficult problem. The word has been taken by Amari for a corrupt form of 'dromon', but the *germa* was a type of round ship in the eastern Mediterranean and possibly *germundus* derives from this; if so, the *germundi* were transports—but the evidence is too inconclusive. After the capture of Bari the

[10] Aimé, pp. 234 and 246.

[11] For Rossano's revolt in the tenth century against this compulsory service, see *Acta Sanctorum*, Vita sancti Nili, pp. 295 *et seq.* See now also E. Eickhoff, 'Byzantinische Wachtflottillen in Unteritalien im 10. Jahrhundert', *Byz. Zeitschrift* xlv (1952), 340–4, where it is shown that Reggio, Tropea, and Amantea also owed this service and received financial help for it from inland towns.

[12] Lupus Protospatarius, p. 153.

[13] Malaterra, pp. 31–2: Aimé, p. 235. (For 'germundus', see M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (ed. 2), iii, 68.)

[14] R. H. Dolley, 'The Warships of the Later Roman Empire' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxviii (1948), p. 53.

Normans also had some *gatti* or *catti*; these were apparently larger than galleys, but resembled them in build.[15]

Since it is clear that the Normans employed the shipping that they found in the ports that they had overrun, it is not surprising to learn that their sailors, too, were Byzantine subjects. No doubt in most cases the same crew continued to man the same vessel, but now in the Norman interest. Whenever the chroniclers give the nationality of the sailors fighting for the Normans they are Italian. Calabrians are mentioned at Bari; [16] at Palermo in 1071 there are Calabrians, Apulians ('men of Bari' are specially mentioned), and 'Greeks'; [17] and again at Salerno in 1076 the sailors are Calabrians.[18] The decisive sea-battle off Bari in 1071 was a victory for one force of Byzantine ships and sailors over another force of Byzantine ships and sailors and, to round off the paradox, the soldiers who fought from the ships were Normans on either side—or, at least, the Byzantine relieving army included a considerable number of Norman mercenaries. The Normans for their part certainly relied on Italian troops to a far greater extent than has normally been realised, and indeed Chalandon suggests that the organised militia of the Greek towns in south Italy probably played a big part in the Norman defeat of Byzantine rule, though he admits his inability to find documentary support for this theory.[19] The Normans made considerable use of local troops and soldiers, turning them against both Byzantines and Mohammedans. To what extent the support given them was willing can never be known, but mercenaries, of course, took employment on either side, and it was probably quite normal to find Normans and Byzantines on both sides.

Despite its use of local infantry as auxiliaries, the Norman army was in essence a cavalry force, and the most interesting problems connected with its combined-operations technique relate to the transport of horses by sea. The Vikings, who used horses for moving from one place to another but not in battle, had relied upon finding them in the land they were raiding; the Normans of the eleventh century were far more formidable, because they took their own trained horses and fought upon them. The fact that it was possible to convey war horses overseas was an important technological factor in warfare up to the nineteenth century, and clearly played a big part in the strategical developments of the eleventh.

As anyone will realise who has seen a horse being loaded into a horse-box, horses are very fragile, and their transportation presents great difficulties. Further, it is not easy to carry animals in a rough sea without their suffering injury. The Normans may owe their mastery of this art to their own ingenuity, but it is even more probable that they acquired it from the Byzantines. The fleet of the Eastern Roman Empire was accustomed to carrying cavalry, and such operations would have presented no novelty to the Byzantine sailors of southern Italy. Moreover, the Normans had the opportunity

[15] C. Manfroni, *Storia della Marina Italiana*, Livorno, 1897, i, 456.

[16] William of Apulia, p. 263. I take *replet Calabris advectis navibus aequor* to mean 'ships laden with Calabrians', but the point still holds if the meaning is 'laden Calabrian ships'.

[17] Aimé, pp. 275–6, and Malaterra, p. 52; William of Apulia, p. 270. In no case does the context make it absolutely clear that the reference is to sailors and not soldiers, but William seems to imply this.

[18] Aimé, pp. 366–7.

[19] Chalandon, i, 37. Note also the big call-up of Italians by the Normans before the expedition against the Eastern Empire in 1081 (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, i, 14).

of learning this technique from the horseman's stand-point at least as early as 1038, when a force of several hundred Norman knights was shipped across the Strait of Messina to share in an unsuccessful Byzantine attempt to reconquer Sicily from the Mohammedans.[20] It is almost certainly safe to ascribe to Byzantine expertness (and thus ultimately to the Byzantine inheritance from the ancient world) the Normans' ability to move their cavalry by sea, but it is much less certain that they possessed in the period under discussion ships specially designed for this purpose, such as the Byzantines had. In 961 Nicephorus Phocas had used in his assault on Crete a sort of 'Landing Ship Horse'; ramps which were let down from the side of these vessels made it possible for the cavalry to ride straight into action on the beach, and they overcame the Mohammedan force which was waiting for them.[21] What seems to be an early reference to special horse-carrying ships in Italian ports occurs in an account of the Pisan expedition against the Balearic Islands in 1113; [22] in the later crusading period such vessels, known as *uscieri* in Italy and *huissiers* in France, became common. It does not seem possible to ascertain whether these *uscieri* were based on a Byzantine model,[23] for the eleventh century is a gap in our knowledge of such craft, and the description of Nicephorus Phocas' landing ships is in any case too vague. There are no references to the use by the Normans of special horse-carrying ships in the eleventh century; probably the Greeks possessed comparatively few of them, and one would expect to find them held in a central 'pool' at Constantinople rather than scattered in the ports of a distant and disintegrating province. A passage in Malaterra [24] also suggests that the Normans had in general to make use of ships not specially designed for horses. He describes how near Otranto in 1071 they dug out a ramp in the cliff by the shore so that horses could be embarked directly on to the ships that were to carry them; this expedient may have been due to inadequate port installations, but it also confirms that the ships in question were not built specially for embarking and disembarking cavalry.

The number of horses carried on each ship can only be estimated from one set of figures, given by Aimé of Monte Cassino for the Messina landing of 1061.[25] Thirteen ships carried 270 *chevaliers* with their horses on this occasion, returning to the Calabrian shore for another 170. It seems likely that these figures refer to the total number of horsemen carried and not merely to knights, for the Norman cavalry at Messina, when further reinforced, totalled one thousand, and an Arabic source puts the Norman horse engaged in the subsequent campaign at 700.[26] If this is so, the ships could carry on an average a maximum of some twenty cavalrymen with their horses (the first 'wave' was evidently loaded to capacity, since the ships returned for a fresh load), and this would

[20] For this expedition v. M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (ed. 2), ii, 439–53. The Byzantine troops in this campaign included many Scandinavian mercenaries headed by Harold Hardrada.

[21] Leo Diaconus (Bonn, ed. Hase), p. 7.

[22] *Liber Maiolichinus* (ed. C. Calisse in 'Fonti per la Storia d'Italia'), p. 10. A. Wiel, *The Navy of Venice* (London, 1910), claims (p. 40) that the Venetians used vessels of this type against the Normans in 1081, but I have not been able to trace any source for this statement.

[23] The 'huissiers' were transports, not assault vessels. A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale* (1840) i, 427–32, derived the word from the Greek οὐσία, but a more probable etymology is from the Italian *uscio* (= door), as these ships had sides which opened for the horses to enter and leave the ship. Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins kindly informs me that an οὐσία was not a type of ship (as Jal supposed) but a naval unit; he considers Jal's derivation very improbable.

[24] Malaterra, pp. 50–1.

[25] Aimé, p. 235. Malaterra does not mention the number of ships used, but gives the strength of the two 'waves' as 150 and 300 (p. 32), which comes comparatively close to Aimé and very close to him in the total number of horsemen carried.

[26] Aimé, pp. 237–8: Ibn Haldun in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Italian version, 1880), p. 196.

further confirm that the ships used were not designed specially as cavalry transports.[27] As to the total number of craft available to the Normans there is again little information, but the thirteen ships of 1061 may be contrasted with the fifty or sixty which sailed for the siege of Palermo ten years later,[28] an increase which seems to show that the plan of overcoming Bari first in order to have more vessels for the operation against Palermo had proved fruitful.

While the sources[29] do not permit any confident generalisations about the three landings which preceded the capture of Messina, a few tentative suggestions about the tactics employed and the lessons of the campaign may be hazarded. The first landing in 1060 was definitely a reconnaissance only. Sixty Norman knights landed at the port of Messina, which was some way from the city, achieved surprise, drew out some of the Mohammedan garrison, defeated them by means of a feigned flight[30] and pursued them to the walls of Messina. They then withdrew with some horses that they had captured.

The next operation, in the spring of 1061, was a much more ambitious affair. This time some 160 knights were involved. They crossed the Strait, landing apparently near the north-eastern tip of the island; they set out by night to loot the inland town of Rametta and the port of Milazzo. When they returned with their loot to their vessels, which were waiting for them by the Faro (the extreme north-easterly point of Sicily) they found the weather was too rough for them to embark (it is not clear whether the difficulty was only the horses, or whether not even men could have been embarked). A Mohammedan force came from Messina to attack them, but was defeated, and in a counter-attack the Normans even attempted, unsuccessfully, an assault on the city.[31] The Normans passed three more very uncomfortable days before the sea was sufficiently calm for them to embark and cross the Strait.[32] Was this expedition planned as a mere raid and not with the intention of achieving a permanent foothold? The Norman writers treat it as such, and in the absence of contrary evidence we can only accept their word. Chalandon suggests[33] that the Normans, having found Messina too strong, were reconnoitring the defences of Milazzo with a view to making a landing there; but this remains unproved, and certainly the subsequent landing was made not at Milazzo but at Messina.

The third landing was made, as has been said, by an initial force of some two hundred men,[34] after a reconnaissance of Messina from the sea. These horsemen were landed by night at Tremestrieri, which lies $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Messina. In the morning they encountered a body of thirty troops bound for Messina. This small force

[27] Mr. T. C. Lethbridge writes on this point: 'I do not think it would be easy to transport horses in an ordinary galley without putting shifting boards between the rowing thwarts . . . The space between rowing ports was usually about three feet and without shifting boards it seems very hard to imagine horses being persuaded to stand in what the Vikings called "rooms". . . . Some would be almost certain to break their legs kicking unless they were boxed in between the thwarts.'

[28] Aimé mentions 51 ships (pp. 276–7), Lupus Protospatarius 58 (in the version of *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS., v, 60).

[29] Aimé, pp. 231–8; Malaterra, pp. 29–33.

[30] This may provide evidence in favour of the authenticity of the feigned flight of the Normans at Hastings six years later, which has recently been assailed again (R. Glover, 'English Warfare in 1066', *English Historical Review*, lxvii, 1952).

[31] Aimé (pp. 232–3) puts the assault on Messina before the trouble over embarkation, but I have followed the more convincing account given by Malaterra.

[32] It is not clear whether the minor naval battle in the Strait described by Aimé (p. 234) was fought during the return of this force or later.

[33] Chalandon, i, 194.

[34] For the conflicting figures of Aimé and Malaterra, see above p. 122 n. 25.

was acting as escort to a civil official (Kaid) and a large treasure; it was routed and the Kaid and treasure captured. Later in the morning the Normans' ships returned to them bearing reinforcements which brought their total strength up to about 450. The garrison of Messina offered no resistance to this formidable number of horsemen, but fled by land and sea. The bloodless victory was consolidated by the arrival of further forces from the mainland till the Normans had about a thousand cavalry and the same number of infantry at Messina. With this city as a base the long campaign for the conquest of the island was begun in earnest.

One fact which emerges from a consideration of these operations is that the landing was always made, and a bridgehead won, with great ease. The Mohammedans (who never succeeded in intercepting the Normans on the sea) did not attempt to defend the whole coastline, nor did they even appear to possess an efficient system of look-outs. One is astonished to read that the force which landed by night at Tremestrieri in 1061 proceeded to 'bed down' for the rest of the night and did not prepare itself for battle till daybreak.[35] In these circumstances the efficiency of the Normans in disembarking their cavalry was never fully tested. Secondly, there seems to have been no urgent necessity to capture a port quickly, since the Normans carried no very heavy armaments and could land everything they needed on a beach. Nevertheless, Messina both assured communications with the mainland (giving the Normans command of the Strait, a situation of great strategic importance for the whole Mediterranean) and acted as an easily defensible base from which the assault on the Mohammedan defenders of the island could be launched. Its capture at the very start of the campaign was therefore a sound, perhaps even an obvious, decision. The abandonment of Messina by its Mohammedan garrison remains a mystery. It is impossible to tell whether there was a sudden collapse of morale or whether we have here a 'retirement to prepared positions'. Rametta, a mountain-fortress some ten miles west of Messina, played an important part in the subsequent fighting, and the Mohammedan plans for the defence of north-eastern Sicily were perhaps based upon Rametta rather than Messina. The fortuitous capture of the Kaid with his escort may even have been the decisive episode in this momentous victory.

At first sight the Sicilian operations of 1060–61 may seem to have little importance for scholars primarily concerned with the history of England, but I believe that there is probably a direct and important connection with English affairs. Five years after the capture of Messina William of Normandy landed a large cavalry army on the coast of England, and among the cosmopolitan force that accompanied him were knights from southern Italy and Sicily.[36] These were probably the only members of William's force who had experience of the transportation of cavalry across the sea, and he would probably have consulted them on the problems involved in an operation of this sort. The technical problems were the same in the North and South, and there have been

[35] This seems to follow from Aimé's account (p. 236) of how at daybreak the Normans *se leverent et se adornerent de lor armes et monterent sur lor chevaux*. Aimé is unlikely to have been an eye-witness, but his description of these campaigns seems to derive from those who were present.

[36] Guy of Amiens, 'De Bello Hastingensi Carmen', ed. H. Petrie in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London, 1848, p. 861. Guy refers to the presence of *Apulus et Calaber, Siculus quibus jacula fervet*. This may be poetical hyperbole, but it shows that a certain number of knights from Italy were at Hastings.

many instances of Mediterranean influence on shipping in the North.[37] If conditions were sometimes different, we have seen that the Straits of Messina could produce rough seas. History sometimes does come rather near to repeating itself, and it is possible that lessons in combined operations learnt on the shores of Sicily in 1060–61 were applied between Normandy and England in 1066, just as those learnt on the southern Sicilian coast in 1943 were applied—this time between England and Normandy—to the landings of 1944.

D. P. WALEY

[37] The master of the English king's ship in the early twelfth century was an Italian (C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, pp. 121–2), and the twelfth century saw the introduction of a number of Mediterranean features such as 'castles', the bowsprit and the side-rudder (R. and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship*, London, 1926, pp. 80–4).

The Normans apparently took no horses when they attempted an invasion of England *c.* 1040 (if we are to accept William of Jumièges, vi, 9–10) and this also favours the theory of southern influence in the 1060s. Mr. T. C. Lethbridge writes: 'The Roman army appears to have been quite at home transporting cavalry and probably the method was not forgotten in Italy or Gaul. The Normans might have learnt it in Normandy but certainly did not bring the idea from the North. I do not think it necessary to suppose that the Normans in Normandy would have been incapable of transporting their horses without outside help; but it does seem probable that they might have got some good ideas from the South.'

THE CAMEL IN ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA[1]

(Plates XVII, XVIII)

It is impossible for us, even in these days of land-rovers and jeeps, to imagine a North African landscape without a camel in it, yet the animal is nowhere to be found on the numerous Roman mosaics with scenes of country life in the museums of Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripolitania. Only two ancient writers before Ammianus Marcellinus refer to the camel in North Africa, one specifically, the other by implication. The fact that the camel spread over this region—Africa Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania —some time during the Roman period is, however, generally accepted. What is not clear is when and how this happened. The purpose of this note is to publish the photograph of a relief from a Tripolitanian tomb (Pl. XVIII), in the hope that it may be a small contribution to the discussion of the problem, at least as far as Tripolitania is concerned.

The evidence has often been studied.[2] The earliest mention of the camel in the Maghreb is the note in the *Bellum Africanum*[3] to the effect that twenty-two camels belonging to King Juba were captured during the skirmishing in the campaign which led up to the Battle of Thapsus (45 B.C.). It is not known how Juba obtained his twenty-two camels, or whether other rich Numidians owned any, and there is no hint of the presence of the beast in Punic times. The second notice comes in the work of the late third-century African Christian, Arnobius of Sicca, who writes of the camel kneeling down when it is being loaded or unloaded.[4] This is in a passage dealing with the education of the soul, which is illustrated by homely references to familiar animals, so that it seems possible that the camel was a common sight in his days in his part of Numidia.

The first reference to camels in large numbers concerns Tripolitania and is made by Ammianus Marcellinus, who writes that in A.D. 363 the oppressive *Comes Africae* Romanus demanded 4,000 camels from the city of Lepcis Magna.[5] By the Vandal and Byzantine periods camels were all over North Africa, and camel-using Berber tribes of the desert were wreaking havoc in the settled areas.[6]

The negative evidence for the period between Caesar and Arnobius is striking, at first sight. Pliny, in all his descriptions of Africa and African animals, makes no mention of the camel; nor does Strabo refer to it. Conversely, Pliny's account of the camel contains no allusion to its presence in North Africa.[7] But as this passage does not refer to the camel in Egypt either, where camels were in common use, its significance can be exaggerated. Writers on African campaigns in the early Empire have left no record of

[1] The sculptures here discussed were examined during journeys in Tripolitania in 1951–54, made possible by the courtesy of the Department of Antiquities. The writer wishes also to thank Miss Joyce Reynolds for many valuable suggestions and criticisms.

[2] It is given fully in S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, i, Paris, 1920, 59–61, and in his later article, 'La Tripolitaine et le Sahara au iiime siècle', *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xliii, 1933, 149–66, especially 154 f.

[3] lxviii, 4.

[4] *Adversus Gentes* ii, 25. This part of his work is believed to have been written about the year 297. He also mentions the camel in vii, 16.

[5] xxviii, 6, 5.

[6] E.g., Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* i, 8, 25; Corippus, *Iohannis*, ii, 93.

[7] *Hist. Nat.* vii, 26.

camels among the baggage animals. It is to be observed, however, that references to African expeditions subsequent to Caesar's are extremely brief and give few clues as to their organisation. On the other hand, camels were employed by the Roman army in Syria in A.D. 62, if not before.[8] Camel corps are found in Egypt in the second century,[9] but they cannot as yet be traced further west at this period.

Cagnat long ago wrote that he found it difficult to agree with writers who thought that the Roman Army in Africa did not use the camel before the fourth century.[10] He based his opinion in part upon the discovery of terracotta figurines of loaded camels in second-century tombs at Hadrumetum,[11] which he held to indicate that the camel was by then common in the country. This may well be right, but it is not as yet known whether the figurines are local products or are imports from Egypt or elsewhere. Another camel occurs on a fragment of early-empire wall-painting, also found near Hadrumetum,[12] but without the rest of the picture its significance cannot be gauged.

Camels, as has already been mentioned, are not found in North African mosaics of country life.[13] The most important mosaics of this type in Tripolitania are those from the large villa of Dar-Buk-Amar near Zliten, which belong to the Flavian period.[14] They show farm scenes with sheep, goats, horses, and oxen, but no camels. The farm depicted is a rich holding in a fertile oasis. In these coastal oases plenty of oxen have always been available as draught or farm animals. The absence of the camel from a farm scene does not exclude its use by long-distance traders.

Egypt and Cyrenaica

Camels became common in Egypt under the Ptolemies,[15] an all-important fact which is sometimes lost sight of. Ptolemy II Philadelphus, besides exhibiting camels in his famous procession in honour of Dionysus (274 B.C.),[16] supplied them as transport on the desert route between Coptos and the Red Sea,[17] and they gradually came into general use. Many terracotta figurines of loaded camels, of both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, have been found in Egypt.[18]

There are signs that the camel penetrated west of Egypt before the end of the first century B.C. Coins of Cyrenaica issued by a legate of Antonius, M. Lollius Palicanus (*c.* 39 B.C.), have a camel on the reverse, presumably as an emblem of the province.[19] This suggests that the animal was by then common in Cyrenaica, which had for so long been an appanage of Egypt. In the narrative of Quintus Curtius there is mention of camels in the baggage-train which accompanied Alexander the Great on his journey to

[8] Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 12.

[9] *Eph. Epig.* vii, 457; J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, 1918, pp. 80, 113–14, 147.

[10] R. Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique*, 1913, 331.

[11] *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui, Tunis*, i, 1897, 139, nos. 64–6; 144, no. 113.

[12] *Ibid., Supplément*, 1910, 40, no. 88 (from El-Alia).

[13] G. P. Gauckler, *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique, Tunisie*; A. Blanchet, R. Cagnat, and de Pachtère, *L'Algérie*; a number of examples are given in Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. There is a camel on a mosaic at Djemila (L. Leschi, *Djemila*, Algiers, 1949, 36), one of a series of animals and fish in medallions, but it is dated to the fourth century.

[14] S. Aurigemma, *I Mosaici di Zliten*, 1926; see also Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* pl. XLIV.

[15] M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1941, 292, 315, 359, 1404.

[16] Athenaeus v, 200 f.; W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3rd Edn., 1952, 183; G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, Manchester, 1937, 33.

[17] Strabo xvii, 1, 45.

[18] M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1926, pl. XLII.

[19] E. S. G. Robinson, *British Museum Cat. of Greek Coins: Cyrenaica*, 1927, pl. XLII, 1–5. Coins issued under Tiberius bear the same emblem, *ibid.*, pl. XLIV, 10.

the oasis of Siwa.[20] Quintus Curtius may be of secondary value as a source for the study of Alexander, but this story can be taken to show that to a Roman of the first century A.D. there was nothing incongruous in suggesting the use of camels in the Libyan desert.

The camel having once arrived in Cyrenaica, its gradual drift westward would seem a natural thing. The great merchants engaged in the long-distance commerce between Alexandria and the west can hardly have failed to be aware of the value of the camel, though the main bulk of their goods probably went by sea. The six hundred miles separating Berenice from Lepcis were not all desert. There were settlements at intervals, some of them, like Macomades (Sirte) and Tubactis (Misurata), of fair size. The camel could easily have been traded from post to post by lesser merchants, thus steadily coming into more general use, quite apart from any state intervention for military or other purposes.

The Tripolitanian Cities and the Fezzan

Gsell, however, inclined to the opinion that the use of the camel became general in Tripolitania through the deliberate policy of Septimius Severus;[21] Severus, familiar with the camel caravans of the Syrian desert, sought to further the prosperity of Lepcis in particular by introducing the camel on the caravan routes to the Fezzan. Gsell refers to the wealth of Amsterdam built on barrels of herrings, and claims that in the same way the wealth of Lepcis, attributable before this time to olive-stones, henceforth rested on carcases of camels. Excavation at Lepcis, however, has shown that though the Severan period was one of unparalleled magnificence, this was not maintained, and economic regression followed rapidly, as elsewhere in the Empire.[22]

It is true that Severus and his dynasty showed particular interest in the Tripolitanian frontier zone, and took steps for the security of the caravan routes.[23] Furthermore, Caputo's work in the Fezzan in 1933 and his study of Roman objects found there in the tombs of the Garamantes bear out Gsell's view to the extent that Roman imports of the third century are rather more plentiful than those of earlier centuries.[24] The expansion in the trade between Roman territory and the south, however, seems to have come in the late first century after the punitive expedition of Valerius Festus against the Garamantes in A.D. 70.[25] From this time Roman objects appear in the Fezzan tombs, the imports continuing through the next three centuries. But the part of the camel in all this remains conjectural. Its introduction on the Fezzan routes could be postulated for the time of Vespasian,[26] another emperor acquainted with Syrian commerce, as pertinently as for the time of Severus—but either view is hypothesis. Another point

[20] iv, 7, 9: *aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant.*

[21] 'La Tripolitaine' etc. (note 2 above), 154.

[22] *IRT*, p. 78.

[23] See R. G. Goodchild, 'Oasis Forts of Legio III Augusta on the Routes to the Fezzan', in this volume of the *Papers*.

[24] G. Caputo, *Monumenti Antichi* xli, 1951, 200–442; the results of the expedition of Pace, Sergi, and Caputo are summarised in Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, 1954, 97–107.

[25] Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 50; Pliny v, 38. Before the middle of the second century a citizen of Lepcis, Julius Maternus, was able to make a voyage of exploration right across the Sahara (Ptolemy I, viii. 4–5). Caputo, *op. cit.*, 442, regards the time of Vespasian as vital in the development of this commerce.

[26] Miss Joyce Reynolds has drawn my attention to an inscription recently found at Ostia (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1953, 276). It is a tombstone of T. Flavius Stephanus, *praepositus camellorum*, a freedman of one of the Flavian emperors. Below it are incised the figures of an elephant and two camels. The elephant is too roughly sketched for it to be safe to state whether it is African or Indian, but it may be remarked that in the first century Africa was still a land of elephants. The exact function of this *praepositus* is not clear, so the significance of the inscription cannot yet be explained.

to remember is that the desert tribes may have been gradually acquiring camels through traffic with Cyrenaica from oasis to oasis, or via the Syrtica. As for Lepcis and her sister-cities, their prosperity, resting both on the olive and on trans-Saharan trade, had been built up steadily from Punic times, with or without the camel.

The Tripolitanian Sculptures

The most remarkable documents relating to the camel in North Africa are the sculptured scenes of agricultural life which are a feature of the Tripolitanian hinterland and which were first studied as a group by Romanelli.[27]

Goodchild and Ward Perkins have discussed in a number of articles the settlement of Tripolitania in Roman times.[28] To the hill farms of the Gebel and the wadi farms of the pre-desert region may be added the Gefara farms, on the hot plain between the coast and the Gebel escarpment.[29] From all three areas come sculptures of agricultural scenes, and in each group there are examples of camels drawing the plough.

The majority of them occur in the frontier zone of wadi farms settled by the soldier-farmers or *limitanei*, and are late. The largest series is that portrayed on the two groups of mausolea at Ghirza.[30] Camels, mostly harnessed to ploughs, are shown on about a dozen stones. On these distant stations the camel was essential for transport, and others of the carvings depict camels on journeys.[31] The example, in Plate XVII, 1, which, so far as the present writer knows, has not hitherto been published, was taken from Ghirza to Beni-Ulid by Italian officers and in 1952 was transferred to Tripoli Museum. It comes, as its measurements and ornament show, from the frieze of Tomb No. 2 of the northern necropolis, the tomb of Fydel and Phesylcum.[32] On the right side is the badly damaged figure of a man turning and leading a camel which has a two-peaked saddle on its back. Close behind the camel is a smaller human figure leading a second camel, which is also loaded. A third, larger man, wearing a short tunic, follows the second camel. This sculpture, because of the mention on the funerary inscription of *folles* (coins introduced about A.D. 300), cannot be earlier than the fourth century, and thus does no more than reinforce the texts of that period (above, p. 126).

Other sculptures are known north of the frontier area, from mausolea in the Gebel Nefusa, the western, and narrower part of the zone of hill-farms. Two stones showing camels ploughing have been found here, near Mezgura, just west of Giado, but they cannot yet be dated.[33] The example in Plate XVII, 2, now in Tripoli Museum, shows a camel drawing a plough over land on which a number of furrows are indicated,

[27] P. Romanelli, 'La vita agricola tripolitana attraverso le rappresentazioni figurate', *Africa Italiana* iii, 1930, 53–75. See also R. G. Goodchild, *Geographical Magazine*, 1952, p. 152, which shows a farmer and his animals, including a camel, approaching his fortified farmhouse. A list of pagan sculptures in the Tripolitanian hinterland is given by Goodchild and Ward Perkins in *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, 80–1. Sculptures of related type, showing animals including camels, but not showing camels ploughing, have been found in the Matmata zone of Tunisia: *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité*, 1902 (Henchir bou-Guerba), 405–11; *ibid.* 1906 (Henchir Bel-Aïd), 116.

[28] *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1949 and 1950; Goodchild, *Geographical Journal*, 1950; *Geographical Magazine*, 1952, Ward Perkins, *Archaeology* iii, 1950, 25–30.

[29] It is hoped to publish some notes on these in a forthcoming issue of the *Reports and Monographs* of the Department of Antiquities of Libya.

[30] Photographs of some of these are to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Illustrated London News*.

[31] One shows a string of three camels.

[32] *IRT* 900.

[33] Romanelli, *op. cit.* figs. 13 and 14, evidently from the same monument. The stone of fig. 13 was observed in 1952, walled into the small mosque of Buchar, west of Giado (Sheet 1671, Giosc, U306668). The stone of fig. 14, in which it is reversed by a printer's error, was at some time removed from the mosque to Giado; it was taken to Tripoli in 1954 (Pl. XVII, 2).

towards a tree. It is driven by a man in a short tunic, flourishing a stick in his left hand.

Another camel, though not drawing a plough, was found by Goodchild at Msufiin,[34] south-east of Garian, in a destroyed mausoleum beside a fortified farm. In the fourth century the farm was converted to Donatist use; but the mausoleum, of pre-Christian type, is presumably earlier than these alterations, and the carving of this camel is therefore very probably to be ascribed to the third century.

The Gefara was widely cultivated in the Roman period, and a number of tombs, generally in the last stages of destruction, have been found there. In three cases there are sculptures of animals.[35] One is a ploughing scene. The remains of the mausoleum to which it belongs are known as Henscir el-Ausaf, and lie near Tigi in the Western Gefara 100 miles south-west of Sabratha. It was first recorded by F. Corò,[36] who published a drawing of the relief shown in Plate XVIII, 1. The mausoleum, built in a fine, rather hard, white limestone, stood on a small hill, and below it, about 1 kilometre distant, was the apparently unfortified farm to which it belonged. The stones which once composed it lie scattered about; reliefs of two winged goddesses in niches and a sphinx and other sculptured fragments survive.

The ploughing scene is cut on a stone measuring 1·49 × 0·49 × 0·42 m. On its long side is shown a camel drawing a plough, driven by a man in a short tunic, followed by a pair of oxen drawing another plough, guided by another ploughman clad like the first. Below are the furrows they have been making. The relief is outlined with an incised line. On the end of the stone is a beautiful naturalistic representation of stalks of a cereal which is probably bearded wheat (Pl. XVIII, 2). The sculptures on this stone show more skilled draughtsmanship than the sculptures of Mezgura or Ghirza. The quality of the wheat plants is especially fine, very different from the crude wheat (or barley) on the Ghirza reliefs.[37] No close parallel comes to mind; the Tigi wheat is reminiscent of the finely carved ears on a baetylic stone from Hadrumetum.[38] Ears of corn occur in French North Africa, on tombs of persons associated with the worship of Ceres and Demeter, a favourite cult both in Punic and Roman times. Ploughing and harvesting are shown with dedications to Saturn.[39]

It is not yet possible to date the Tigi sculptures with any certainty, but it may be remarked that small fragments of *terra sigillata* have been picked up on farm sites at Tigi itself and right across the Gefara. The widespread cultivation of this area, and the existence of unfortified farms, implies an era of peace, such as the second or the early third centuries, and to some time in this period the mausoleum of Henscir el-Ausaf belongs. By the beginning of the third century, if not earlier, the farmer of Tigi and his kind were using the camel.

[34] R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward Perkins 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia* xcv, 1953, 39. A photograph of the camel has not yet been published. The notes here given were kindly sent by Mr. Goodchild to the writer.

[35] On two mausolea close to Tigi and at Dahret Hagiar, north-east of Scecsciuch (Sheet 1572, Gasr el-Hag, 382958). The reliefs at Dahret Hagiar include two horses and two bulls; my guide informed me that there used to be a camel, but that it has now disappeared (1953).

[36] F. Corò, *Vestigia di colonie agricole romane: Gebel Nefusa*, 1929, 117. (Henscir el-Ausaf, Sheet 1570, Tigi, T699882).

[37] Or on the Tunisian stele which G. C. Picard (*Les Religions de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1954, 121) dates to the period of the Tetrarchy.

[38] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pl. XLIII. 'The sacred cone of the great Semitic and Berber goddess of Africa.' (No date is given.)

[39] Picard, *op. cit.*, 186 ff. (Ceres), 121 (Saturn).

Conclusions

A few tentative conclusions may be suggested. The camel was in Egypt, and probably in Cyrenaica, by the time of Augustus. Its gradual spread westward would seem to be an inevitable development. That this did indeed happen is implied by certain Tripolitanian sculptures.

The growth of the coastal cities in the early empire, quite apart from the needs of the empire at large, would necessitate an increase in the cultivation of wheat, and when the hinterland of Tripolitania began to be tilled extensively the problem of farm animals would arise. Cattle are to-day rare away from the coast because of the lack of fodder and water. They can never have been plentiful, though rich men like the Tigi farmer might have them in limited numbers. The ancient farmer therefore turned to the camel. He not only found it invaluable for carrying his produce to market, but he also employed it to draw the plough, for which it has been used ever since. If the dating suggested for the Tigi mausoleum is correct, the practice had become established in the Gefara not later than the early third century. Likewise the farmers of the Gebel took over the camel, which in due course spread with the *limitanei* down the southern wadis.[40]

But to be adopted for the humble work of the farm the camel had to be available in sufficient numbers to be relatively cheap. It does not seem likely therefore that the animal was brought in from outside as late as the time of Septimius Severus. It seems much simpler to infer that since the camel was sufficiently common in Tripolitania to be used for working the land in the Gefara in the second or early third century, its period of acclimatisation in the country in its primary role as a long-distance baggage animal may well have been the first century A.D. This process will have been accelerated by the increased use of the caravan routes to the south in the second half of the century.

OLWEN BROGAN

[40] Camels may have been supplied by the state to stock the farms of the original *limitanei* (cf. *SHA. vit. Sev. Alex.* lvii), but they were already in use by other farmers further north.

THE GORGON PLAQUE AT SYRACUSE[1]

(Plate XIX)

DR. BERNABÒ-BREA has kindly given me a new photograph of this monument. It shows the red paint at the outer corner of the gorgon's eye, which makes her eye look bigger and more sinister. It is not, however, a leer such as many early gorgons wear: the pupil is still in the middle of the eye. A lesion in this region of the eye may be due to strain. Our artist is depicting a gorgon under pressure. We must think away two round, dark shadows behind the top of the plaque: the real top is level with the upper end of the gorgon's ears. Dr. Bernabò-Brea was good enough to discuss the plaque with me, and he allowed me to study it outside its glass case. Here are a few observations:

1. *What Should Not Be There*—the bud-like mark above the nose.

The new photographs show that there is no evidence for it in the original. Payne omits it from his drawing[2] and thereby makes the picture stronger and more archaic. No other full-length gorgon seems to have a 'bud'. Many Corinthian gorgoneia have 'buds', the earliest is on the Timonidas vase[3] in Middle Corinthian times. This difference in treatment may be due to the feeling that a gorgon was a living creature, while a gorgoneion was more like a space to be filled. The 'bud' has come to our gorgon from a gorgoneion found in Gela,[4] probably of a later date and from a non-Corinthian colony. The same fate of unsponsored restoration overtook a gorgon[5] on a gravestone in Athens, but, as far as my memory serves, the restoration has since been removed.

2. *What Is There*—(*a*) rivet holes; (*b*) a protruding design.

(*a*) Orsi mentioned these rivet holes.[6] Only two are original: they are visible in the new photographs below the gorgon's right wing, at her shoulder, and below her right knee. It is certain that the holes prevent the plaque from being regarded as any kind of akroterion[7]; to build a support for a relief on the eaves would be absurd.

(*b*) By the protrusion of the design beyond the background on three sides, the plaque differs from any known metope or pediment slab.

3. *What May Have Been There*—Chrysaor.

On the left side of the plaque the artist likes to fill every available space, so he is not likely to have made the right side bare and his design unbalanced. There must have

[1] I have to thank Sir John Beazley and Mr. T. J. Dunbabin for reading this paper and for making many suggestions. Consult P. Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv (1918), pl. 16 for the colours: other references in H. Besig, *Gorgo and Gorgoneion*, p. 99, No. 210. I have found Besig's list of gorgons useful and I have made much use of a long list of references kindly given me by T. J. Dunbabin, but, generally, I quote only those who have made new contributions to the argument.

[2] *Necrocorinthia*, p. 80, fig. 23 E.

[3] Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 34, 5.

[4] Orsi, *op. cit.*, col. 618, fig. 210: Bernabò-Brea, *Annuario* xxvii–xxix (1945–51), p. 71, dated to the first half of the sixth century.

[5] Noak, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxii (1907), pls. xxi–xxii.

[6] *op. cit.*, col. 614.

[7] Mrs. Van Buren, *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*, notes the holes (p. 158) but is undismayed by them. I echo the regrets of T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, p. 268, n. 6, that she abandoned her first good thought (*JHS* xli (1921), p. 209) that the plaque was probably not 'architectonic'. Her verdict of 'lateral akroterion' has misled many (*op. cit.*, pl. xviii, 76).

been another figure there, and the pediment in Korkyra [8] teaches us that it can only have been Chrysaor. Sure enough, there is a deep, round hole in the gorgon's upper-arm (near the armpit), which looks as if it had held something like the back of a head, and a swelling round the hole on the upper-arm shows that there was something in front of it. There is also a slight break below, on the gorgon's buttock, and below that again, a ledge against which something may have rested, Chrysaor's hand or perhaps the point of his golden sword, held in his left hand outstretched behind him.[9] Rodenwaldt[10] gives the Korkyra Chrysaor a sword. Chrysaor may have been dressed, and the point of his tunic may have swung out [11] behind him. This artist likes points; the one hanging down in the middle is the corner of the gorgon's open peplos, an unusual running kit for gorgons.

Dr. Bernabò-Brea assures me that the gorgon's left thumb may not be in its original position, and the hole may not have been near it. The left fore-arm is restored longer than the right. If it were the same size, it could be taken back to the edge of the plaque outside Chrysaor, like the left arm of the Korkyra gorgon,[12] and in the position of that gorgon's right arm.

4. *What the Plaque Is*—the front of an altar.

We have said that the plaque is certainly not an akroterion and probably not part of a pediment, nor a metope. Besig[13] thought he was following Payne in placing it in a pediment at Syracuse, but surely the fragments of a figure which Payne[14] mentions as architectural are the parts of a spotted leopard.[15] From the size of its spots, it is too big to go with our plaque, and Payne never suggested that it did, but the leopard might be connected with two hands.[16] Indeed, we see that if fig. 220 be inverted and reversed, it is not holding a horn, as Orsi thought, but it may very well be a hand holding Pegasos, as in our gorgon, but a left hand; and it can be connected with fig. 219, a hand pointing straight down, as in the Korkyra gorgon[17] and in our proposed restoration of our plaque.

Signora P. Zancani-Montuoro[18] thought it was an *antepagmentum*, masking the *columen*, the end of the king-beam at the apex of the pediment, and she quotes a fourth-century Campanian vase as evidence in her favour.[19] This is too late for us, and let us remember Mrs. Homann-Wedeking's[20] advice, not to interpret decoration on vases too literally as evidence for architectural facts. Darsow[21] quotes *antepagmenta* on Etruscan pediment models, but they are all of the third century B.C. and hardly concern us. The models of spring-houses at Lemnos[22] come nearer to our period, and they do have figures strung up in queer places, but never on a *pagmentum* and never more than a

[8] Rodenwaldt and others, *Korkyra* ii, pl. 3.
[9] Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 11, 1.
[10] Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* ii, p. 20, Abb. 4.
[11] Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 23, 4.
[12] *Korkyra* ii, pl. 2.
[13] *op cit.*, p. 31.
[14] *Necrocorinthia*, p. 252, quoting Orsi, *Mon. Ant.* xxv (1918), col. 631, fig. 221.
[15] Orsi, *op. cit.*, fig. 221.
[16] *ibid.*, figs. 219, 220.
[17] *Korkyra* ii, pl. 2.
[18] *Mem. Accad. Lincei*, Serie VI, i (1925), pp. 313 ff. T. J. Dunbabin informs me that the meaning of these Latin words is still under dispute and that A. Andrén, in *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, uses them otherwise. Vitruvius' use of the words is outside the scope of this note.
[19] *Annali Ist.* (1848), pl. L.
[20] *BSA* xxxvi (1935), p. 154. See also *AJA* xxxviii (1934), pl. XX B.
[21] *Sizilische Dachterrakotten*, p. 56. Darsow quotes Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, fig. 87, but Robertson tells us that all these models are third century. Still Darsow is followed by Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* i, p. 124, ii, p. 137.
[22] In *BSA* xxxvi (1935–36), pp. 149–50, for description and references. Sir John Beazley called my attention to spring-houses.

single figure. There is no sign of king-beams in the temple models found at Perachora,[23] at the Argive Heraeum,[24] or at Ithaca.[25] The last-named actually gives the front of the apex of the roof. Moreover, when there is evidence for such a beam in the Treasury of Gela[26] at Olympia, it is only to show it completely masked by the tympanum, so no one need try to fit our gorgon family into the raking cornice of the architectural terracottas which have been so splendidly reconstructed in the Museum of Syracuse. The feature emphasised in them lies over, not under, the rafters.[27]

The plaque was probably not slung up, inside a temple wall, for although the colours are so vivid that it seems unlikely that it suffered prolonged weathering, the irregular outline of the plaque seems to demand an open space round it; also the plaque is heavy and its material soft, so that the nails would impose strain on it. The gorgon would, of course, be firm on a ledge, but where? She would be more stable if her feet were firmly on the ground as the end cover of an altar. The end of the Ludovisi relief[28] is rounded and its decoration projects: it is now thought to be an altar, and it comes from Magna Graecia. Moreover, gorgons in relief were put on one side of small terracotta altars in Selinous,[29] and also on a monolithic stone altar in Paros,[30] and their wings have a tendency to project or to overstep their frames.

P. Marconi published three moulds[31] from Agrigento for what he believed to be plaques, representing two gorgons running right, and Herakles (also running right) and the boar. They cannot be separate dedications, for they are framed top and bottom and not at the sides: nor can they be set one after another in a frieze with no divisions between them. They are certainly a set, their style is identical: I suggest that the gorgons are on the sides, and Herakles on the front, of a miniature rectangular altar, 0·159 × 0·096 m.,[32] the back of which was left undecorated. Compare a painted Corinthian terracotta arula in Ithaca,[33] with quadrupeds moving right on one side and on the front, and with the back unpainted.

Perhaps we might mention the miniature terracotta altars from Taranto. P. Wuilleumier[34] dates them to the fourth and third centuries, and certainly none of the extant tops that he publishes is earlier. Still two of the fragments in the Ashmolean certainly go back to fifth-century originals. The reliefs are framed top and bottom, but are open at the sides. Where the tops are preserved they overlap as in the Boston relief,[35] but as we have said, they are late.

To pursue late altars farther would take us too far afield, but it might be allowable to suggest that some other early plaques, such as the Theseus and Ariadne, found at Taranto, may be connected with altars.[36] It has only one hole, which means that it was

[23] Payne, *Perachora* i, pp. 34 ff., pls. 9, 119, 120.
[24] Oikonomos, *Eph. Arch.* 1931, pp. 1 ff.
[25] *BSA* xliii (1948), pl. 45, 600.
[26] Süsserott, *Olympische Forschungen* i, p. 91, Abb. 25.
[27] Orsi, *op. cit.*, col. 678: Bernabò-Brea, *Annuario* xxvii–xxix (1949–51), p. 67.
[28] *Ant. Denkm.* ii, 6, 7. For the latest discussion, see W. Hahland, *O.Jh.* xl (1953), pp. 27 ff.
[29] Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.* xxxii (1927), pl. xxxiii, fig. 102.
[30] Loewy, *Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen* xi, p. 155, pl. V.2.
[31] *Agrigento*, figs. 133, 134.
[32] J. Marconi Bovio, *Not. Scav.*, Ser. VI, vi (1930), p. 102, pl. IV.
[33] Benton, *BSA* xlviii (1953), pl. 64.
[34] *Tarente*, p. 432, pl. XLI. A. J. Evans, *JHS* vii (1886), p. 33, pl. LXIII. See also E. Jastrow, *Opuscula Archaeologica* ii, p. V.a. Wuilleumier's pl. XLI, 5 and 6 do not belong to the same object; they have different borders.
[35] *Ant. Denkm.* iii, 7, 8.
[36] A. von Salis, *Theseus and Ariadne*, p. 1, Abb. 1. The relief of the first generation derived from this relief, *ibid.*, p. 9, Abb. 17, is as likely to be ancient as modern. See R. V. Nicholls, *BSA* xlvii (1952), pp. 213 ff.

fixed with a nail, not hung up as a votive; and its mould, or a similar one, was used more than once, very likely in antiquity.

Orsi believed that he had found the original early altar at Syracuse,[37] embedded in the middle of its successor. The stone looks as if the top had been cut off, and the measurements of the remaining sides, 0·50 × 0·53 m., are not too far away from those of our plaque, which Orsi gives as 0·56 × 0·53 m.[38] Yavis[39] is unconvinced that the central stone which is alleged to be an altar is in fact earlier than the rest of the structure, but surely, here we should trust a careful excavator. In view of what N. Yalouris has told us about Athena Chalinitis, Pegasos is particularly appropriate to her altar in a Corinthian colony.

5. *The Date*—middle of the seventh century.

As we have rejected any connection with the architectural terracottas, the date should be considered afresh. Hampe[40] uses queer arguments against Payne's dating of our gorgon. He says that the archaistic traits of the Selinous metope[41] show how far wrong we may go in dating Sicilian gorgons by details of dress or of hair: that in the development of the body, the Syracusan and Korkyra gorgons are about at the same stage, and so they should be about the same date. With the fine gorgons of the Agrigentine moulds in our minds, it is difficult to listen with patience to a suggestion that all Sicilian gorgons are likely to be backward, doubly difficult when it concerns so superb a work as the gorgon at Syracuse. As for the assertion that articulation, or (shall we say?) general impression of the development of bodily forms, is a more reliable criterion of date than details of dress and hair-dressing, of course, the contrary is true. It was by looking exclusively at the clumsiness of the articulation that the Selinous metopes were dated too early. Their late archaic date was betrayed by the folds of Perseus' tunic,[42] and a glance at the crimped tresses of the gorgon would have led to the same result; why should we not add that the separate hairs of the Korkyra gorgon's tresses are in an earlier style, and the wig-like, squared up hair of the Syracuse gorgon, earlier still?[43] If, however, we must judge our gorgons by bodily development, and not by attendant details, what of the shape of the heads? Surely, the flatness of the head of the gorgon at Syracuse places her well before the other two and securely in the seventh century?

The question that I should like to raise is not whether Payne's[44] placing of her between the Thermon metopes and Early Corinthian is too early, but whether she ought not to come before the Thermon metopes rather than after. As has been said, her head is flat, those of the Thermon metopes are more rounded. The patterns on the Syracuse gorgon, particularly the ray pattern on her front hem, are common on the Thermon metopes, as Payne[45] pointed out, but other features seem earlier. Pegasos is

[37] *op. cit.*, col. 391 ff., fig. 18.
[38] *ibid.*, col. 614.
[39] *Greek Altars*, p. 129. See also N. Yalouris, 'Athena als Herrin der Pferde,' *Museum Helveticum* 7 (1950), 20.
[40] *Ath. Mitt.* lx–lxi (1935–36), p. 297, no. 31.
[41] O. Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, pl. 1.
[42] E. Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*, p. 37.
[43] How much of the archaism of the Selinous gorgon is due to the 'Improver'? In the photographs the forehead curls look like the plastic curls of the earlier gorgons, and yet the cast is smooth.
[44] *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 80 ff.
[45] Payne, *BSA* xxvii (1925–26), pp. 125, 131.

neater than any Early Corinthian horse, his companions are the racing colts on the Macmillan aryballos.[46] His flame mane resembles the manes of the horse-protomes on mitrai from Axos,[47] which are likely to be early.[48] The gorgon's face is closer to the Protocorinthian early gorgons than to the shaggy gorgons[49] of the Early Corinthian period.

Sir John Beazley points out to me that the shield-bands cannot be omitted. Kunze[50] is no doubt right to reject Payne's[51] date for the Delphi band; and to place it well in the sixth century, not the third quarter of the seventh: large eyes, much-developed helmet, cotton-wool hair, and does not Zeus' muffler show folds? Contrast the exquisite detail of the Chigi[52] vase with these monotonous warriors. Payne[53] split up the contents of the Noicattaro Warrior's tomb,[54] dating the body-belt with the Delphi shield-band, in the third quarter of the seventh century, though the tomb contained a vase dated by himself about 575 B.C. Kunze[55] also finds this vase embarrassing, as the Noicattaro shield-band has a plate shewing Herakles and the Lion, close to a plate belonging to a group which he wishes to place in the last quarter of the seventh century. In this group are the bands which interest us, Kunze xiii/xiv with the gorgon family.[56]

The whole Argivo-Corinthian series seems to me more likely to start about 600 B.C. than earlier. R. J. Hopper[57] has already suggested that the heraldic plates of the Chimaera Group of Corinthian vases are earlier than Payne dated them. If we bring them up to 600 B.C., that would allow us gorgons with cotton-wool hair[58] and ears sticking out, a runner[59] with scales on wings and body, if not quite yet the rectangular face characteristic of sixth-century[60] gorgons, as companions of the gorgon in the plaque at Olympia.

It is interesting to see the whole of Chrysaor for the first time. Alas that there is so little of Pegasos to be made out in the plaque. Surely the twist pattern[61] on the gorgon's hem does not really prevent her belonging to the sixth century. Contrast the seven or eight different patterns of our gorgon's dress, and the two elements in her hair style: and what a lot of detail there is on our Pegasos too: black and white paint, spotted muzzle, flame mane, and perhaps harness. He seems to have leather harness plasticly shewn and a chape in black paint.[62] Surely all this is close to the variety on the Korkyra[63] mould or the Crowe corslet[64] of the middle of the seventh century, and far from the mass-produced Argivo-Corinthian reliefs, all of which I should like to date after 600 B.C. The close integration seen in these groups is new, and is probably an Argive feature. No one is ever tempted to overstep his frame, look how Chrysaor

[46] Payne, *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 22, 1 and 5.

[47] D. Levi, *Annuario* xiii–xiv (1930–31), pl. xiv, 4.

[48] See Benton, *BSA* xl (1939–40), pp. 78, 82.

[49] Payne, *Necrocorinthia*. Contrast his earliest gorgons, p. 80, with those on p. 82.

[50] *Olympische Forschungen* ii, pp. 242, 235. Second quarter of the sixth century. No. xxiv, pl. 50. See *Fouilles de Delphes* v, p. 123, pl. 21.

[51] *Necrocorinthia*, p. 225. *Perachora* i, p. 144.

[52] *Protokorintische Vasen*, pl. 29.

[53] *Necrocorinthia*, p. 225.

[54] Gervasio, *Bronzi Arcaici*, pp. 109 ff.

[55] *op. cit.*, p. 231. Kunze assumes that this tomb contained grandfather's shield and a new bronze pot. It might have been a stripling with a new shield and a grandmother's pot.

[56] *ibid.*, pls. 36–39.

[57] *BSA* xliv (1949), p. 168.

[58] *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 32. 5, 6, 7.

[59] *ibid.*, pl. 31, 5.

[60] *Perachora* i, pl. 42, 1: cf. Kunze, pl. 39, xiv. c.

[61] Kunze, p. 70. For Pegasos' harness mentioned below cf. *JHS* lviii (1938), pl. 19; *BSA* xlviii (1953), no. 1023 p. 323, pl. 61: also Yalouris, *op. cit.*, p. 39, Abb. 4.

[62] Cf. the harness on a horse's head on the bottom of a Late Protocorinthian conical oenochoe in Ithaca. He, too, may be Pegasos.

[63] *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 45.

[64] *Olympia iv. Die Bronzen*, pl. lix.

clings to Pegasos, how lovingly Herakles takes his lion round the neck and what a gentle[65] beast it is. Think of the gory, biting Chigi[66] lion. That is the world to which the Syracusan gorgon belongs. May a group like ours perhaps be the earlier work from which the gorgon family on the hammered bands at Olympia is derived,—perhaps on the altar dedicated by Bellerophon?[67]

SYLVIA BENTON

[65] Kunze, pl. 39, xiv d. [66] Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, pl. xl. l. c. [67] Pind. *O* xiii, 82.

INDEXES

I. INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

A

Arab invaders, in Tripolitania, 111.
Audience-halls in Roman palaces, 75–6, 87–8.
Austuriani, 91, 112 n.

B

Baldacchino, J. G., and Evans, J. D., *Prehistoric Tombs near Zebbug, Malta*, 1–21.
Basilica: Aemilia, 71, *centenaria*, 74, 'Crepereia', 75, 88, '*discoperta*', 81–2, Hilariana, 74, of Maxentius, 88, of Vitruvius at Colonia Iulia Fanestris, 71, Porcia, 71, Severiana (Lepcis Magna), 75, Ulpia (Rome), 75, *vestiaria*, 74–5, Vetus (Lepcis Magna), 76.
Basilica, at: Alba Fucens, 73, Ardea, 73–4, Corinth, 76, Cosa, 71, 74, Djemila, 74–5, Doclea, 75, Kremna (Pisidia), 77, Pompeii, 73, 76–7, Smyrna, 77, Timgad, 75, Veleia, 75.
Basilica, origin of the term, 69, 70.
Basilicas: as covered bazaars, 74, attached to public buildings, 74, circular, 78, domestic, 74, judiciary, 75, used for pagan cults, 74 f., 88, various types of in Roman Empire, 74.
Benton, S., *The Gordon Plaque at Syracuse*, 132–37.
Berber tribes, 110–11.
Breveglieri, Tripolitania, *gasr* and church at, 109.
Brogan, O., *The Camel in Roman Tripolitania*, 126–31.
Bu Ngem, fort and oasis of, 56–60, 64.
Burgus, meaning of term, 65.

C

Camel, in N. Africa, 126–31.
Centenarii, of *limes Tripolitanus*, 109, 112.
Chapel, Christian, at Gasr Maamura, 107.
Chrysaor, on gorgon plaque, 132–3, 136.
Church, architecture: Bethlehem, 81–2, 85, Dura Europos, 79, Holy Sepulchre, 81–2, 85, St. John Lateran, 84–5, 87, St. Peter at Rome, 82, 85, in Syria, 4th century, 79.
Churches, in Tripolitanian Gebel, 107–9.
Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica, by J. B. Ward Perkins, 69–90.
Cydamus, *see* Ghadames.
Cyrene: Caesareum, 77.

D

defensor civitatis, in N. Africa, 51.
Domitius Ahenobarbus, L., proconsul of Africa, 12 B.C., 47, 55.

E

Evans, J. D., and Baldacchino, J. G., *Prehistoric Tombs near Zebbug, Malta*, 1–21.

F

Fezzan, forts on routes to, 56–68, Roman expeditions to, 56–7, Roman trade with, 128.
Fronto, M. Cornelius, letter to city council of Cirta, 46, 49, 52, patron of Calama, 52.

G

Garama (Germa), mausoleum at, 57.
Garamantes, 56–7, 128.
Ghadames, presumed fort at, 66, monuments at, 67.
Gheria el-Garbia, oasis and fort of, 58–68.
Gheria esh-Shergia, fortified building at, 60, 62.
Ghirza, 129
Goodchild, R. G., *Oasis Forts of Legio III Augusta on the routes to the Fezzan*, 56–68.
Gorgon Plaque at Syracuse, The, by S. Benton, 132–37.

H

Hennessy, J. B., *Excavations at Sphagion in Cyprus*, 22–38.
Horses, transport of by sea in medieval campaigns, 121–2.
House-church of early Christians, 79–81.

I

Inscriptions: Arabic, in Tripolitania, 99; Latin, in Tripolitania, 65, 106–7, 113–16; relating to *patroni* of N. African cities, 39–55; Latino-Libyan, 109, 115.

L

Lebda (= Lepcis Magna), and Arab invasions, 111.
Legio III Augusta, Oasis Forts of, on the Routes to the Fezzan, by R. G. Goodchild, 56–68.
Lepcis Magna, 75, 76, 110–11, 126, 128.
Leuathae, 110, 112.

M

Malta, Prehistoric Tombs near Zebbug, by J. G. Baldacchino and J. D. Evans, 1–21.
martyria, 81–2.
Marusinac, near Salona, *martyrium*, 81.
Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa, The, by B. H. Warmington, 39–55.

N

Normans, naval warfare of, in Italy and Sicily, 118–25.

O

Oates, D., *Ancient Settlement in the Tripolitanian Gebel, II: The Berber Period*, 91–117.

P

Palace architecture, influence of, on Christian, 87.
patroni, in Roman N. Africa, 39–55.
Phallic symbols on Romano-Libyan sculptures, 99, 106, 112–13.

R

Richard of Aversa, Prince of Capua, 118.
Robert Guiscard de Hauteville, Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, 118.

S

Sculptures, Tripolitanian: apotropaic hand, 113–14; camels, 129–30; phallic, 99, 106, 112–13; at Gheria el-Garbia, 66.
Sergius, Byzantine general, 110.
Severan period: camel in, 128; forts of, 56–68.
Ships: for horse-transport, 121–2; for Norman invasion of Sicily, 119–20; types of, 120–21.
Sicily, A.D. 1060–78, 'Combined Operations' in, by D. P. Waley, 118–25.
Sirte, region of, and Berber invasions, 112.
Sphagion, in Cyprus, Excavations at, by J. B. Hennessy, 22–38.
Statue-menhir, Zebbug, Malta, 13, 20.

T

Tesserae patronatus, 47–9, 52.
Tigi, mausoleum, 130–31.
Titulus Equitii, 80, 89–90.
Tripolitania, *see* basilica, inscriptions, *Legio III Augusta*, *patroni*, sculptures.

V

Vespasian, and Fezzan trade, 128.

W

Waley, D. P., *'Combined Operations' in Sicily, A.D. 1060–78*, 118–25.
Ward Perkins, J. B., *Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica*, 69–90.
Warmington, B. H., *The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa*, 39–55.
William of Normandy, 124–5.

Z

Zebbug, Malta, tombs near, 1–21.

II. INDEX OF AUTHORS AND INSCRIPTIONS

(In this index are mentioned only such references as are the subject of original or important comment.)

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

i, 13; ix, 37–9; xx, 6–9 79

AIMÉ OF MONTECASSINO

Storia dei Normanni, in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* . . . . . 118–25, *passim*

AL-BAKRI

Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale (tr. de Slane), p. 26 111

AL-IDRISI

Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne (tr. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje), p. 154 . . . 111

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

xxviii, 6, 1–29 51–2

ARNOBIUS

Adv. gent. ii, 25 126

BELLUM AFRICANUM

xviii, 4 126

CIL

VI, 1937, 30973 75
VIII (and other collections of N. African inscriptions) . . . . . 39–55 *passim*
VIII, 20156 74
XIII, 6509 65
XI, 1, 288 78

DE MORTIBUS PERSECUTORUM

ed. Brandt and Laubmann (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxvii, 1893), 12, 5 80

EUSEBIUS

Vit. Const. iii, 10 87
iii, 29–32 78

FRONTO

Ad amicos ii, 2 . . . . . 46, 49

IBN ABD AL-HAKAM

Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord (tr. A. Gateau), pp. 35–7 110

IBN KHALDUN

History of the Berbers (tr. de Slane), i, p. 280 . 111

INSCRIPTIONS OF ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA

319 etc. . . . . 39–55 *passim*
875–876 114
877 115
878 101
895–897 64–65
907–909 67
913–920 58–60

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE

Etym. 15, 4, 11 70

ITINERA HIEROSOLYMITANA

ed. P. Geyer (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix) p. 209 82

ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE

ed. P. Geyer (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*) pp. 22, 20 ff. 78–9

LACTANTIUS

De mort. pers. 12, 5 80

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Published and discussed . . 106–7, 113–16

LEO DIACONUS

ed Hase, p. 7 122

LIBER PONTIFICALIS

i, p. 281 87
i, p. 46 89
i, p. 170, 187, 220 89
ii, p. 131 89

LUPUS PROTOSPATARIUS

ed. L. A. Muratori (*Rerum Ital. Script.* v) p. 153 119, 120
Mon. Germ. Hist., SS., v, 60 . . . 123

MALATERRA

De Reb. Gest. Rog. Calabriae et Sic. Comitis (ed. E. Pontieri in *Rer. Ital. Script.*, n.s., v, 1) 118–125 *passim*

OPTATUS

ed. Ziwsa, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxvi. 1, 23 . 87

PEREGRINATIO AETHERIAE

ed. P. Geyer, *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* xxxix. 48, 1 (p. 100) 78

PLUTARCH

Popl. 15 751

PROCOPIUS

Aedif. vi, 13, 10 67
Bel. Vandal. iii, 25 111
iv, 10; iv, 21; iv, 28 110

PSEUDO-CLEMENT

Recognitiones x, 71 (Migne, *PG* i) . . 80

S.H.A.

Vita Severi, xviii, 3 57

QUINTUS CURTIUS

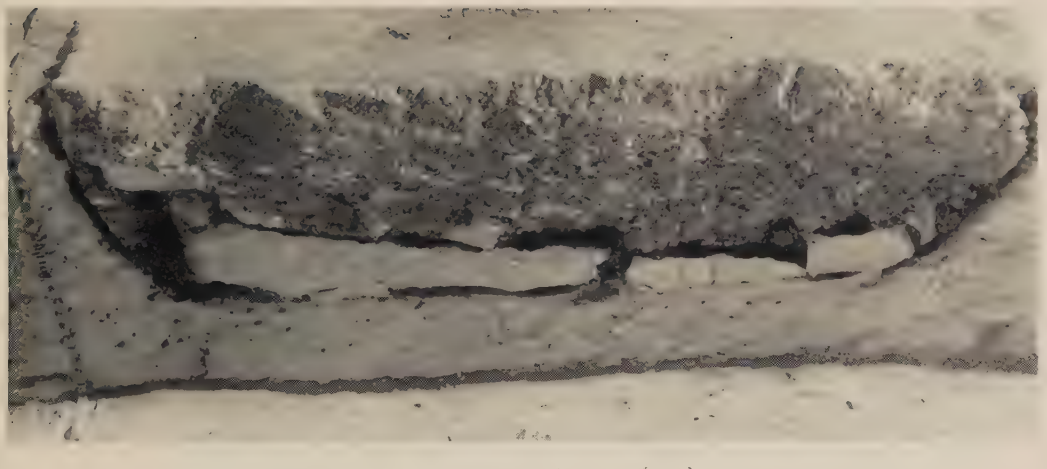
iv, 7, 9 127–28

VITRUVIUS

v, i, 6–10 71
vi, iii, 9 70
vi, v, 2 74

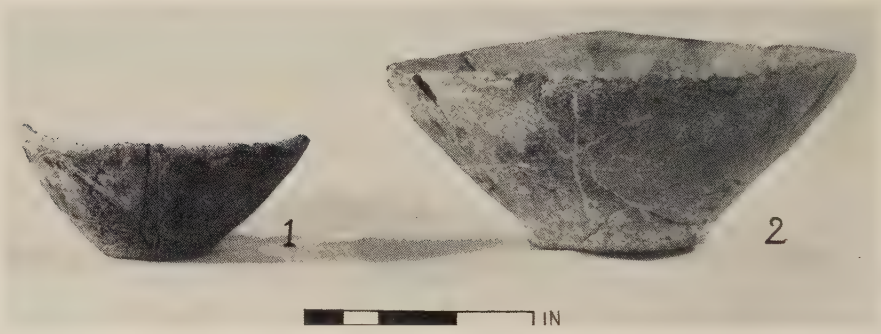
WILLIAM OF APULIA

Gesta Roberti Wiscardi (in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. ix.) pp. 263–72 . . 119–25 *passim*



ZEBBUG, MALTA, TOMB 1 (p. 1)
(*Photos: Valletta Museum*)

a. Tomb 1



b. 1, Tomb 2; 2, Tomb 3

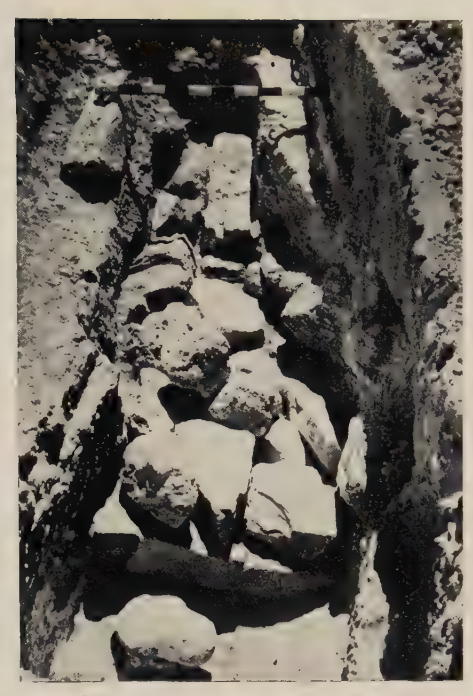
c. 1, Tomb 4; 2, Tomb 5

Prehistoric Pottery from Zebbug, Malta (pp. 2, 4, 6, 11)
(*Valletta Museum*)

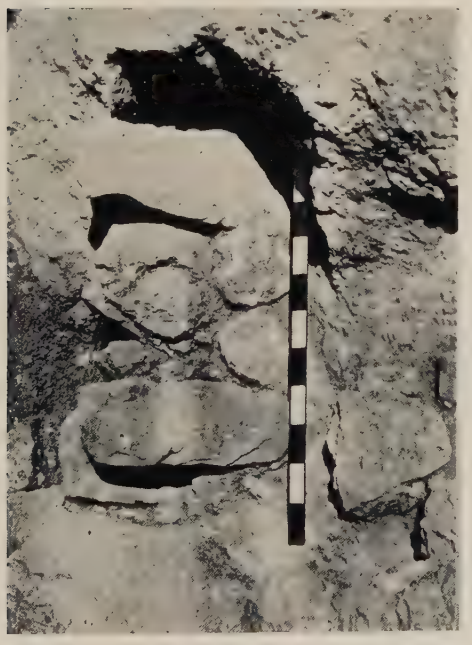
ZEBBUG, MALTA: HEAD OF STATUE-MENHIR (pp. 13, 20)
(*Valletta Museum*)

SPHAGION, CYPRUS, TOMB 17 (pp. 23–4): *a (left)*. FINDS IN CHAMBER; *b and c (right)*. BLOCKING STONES AND BOWL IN DROMOS

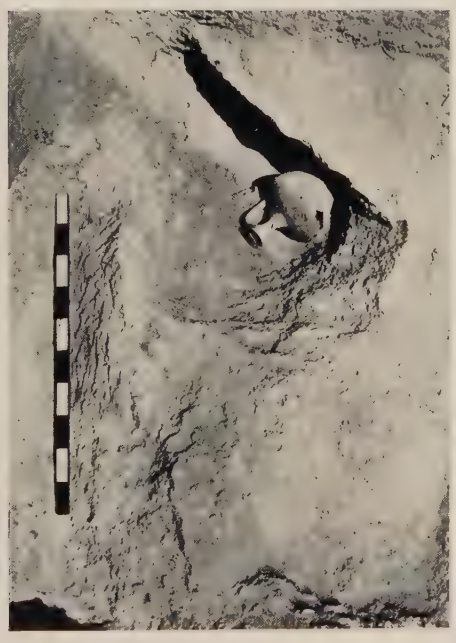
a. Tomb 18, Blocking Stones



b. Tomb 19, Blocking Stones



c. Tomb 20, Blocking Stones

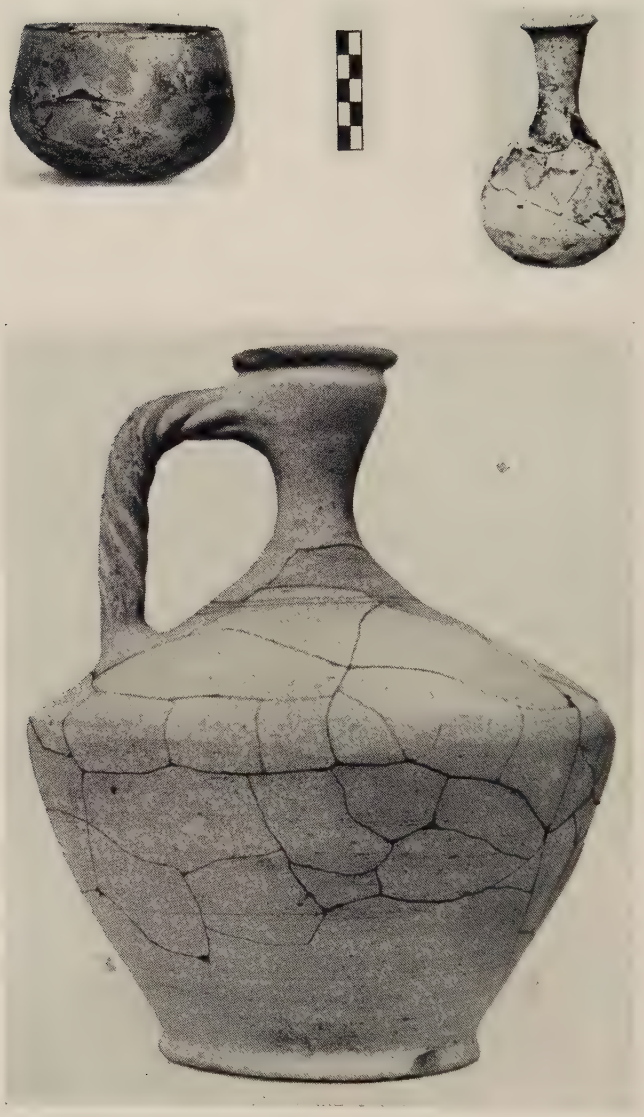


d. Tomb 20, Lagynos

Sphagion, Cyprus: Tombs (pp. 31, 36)

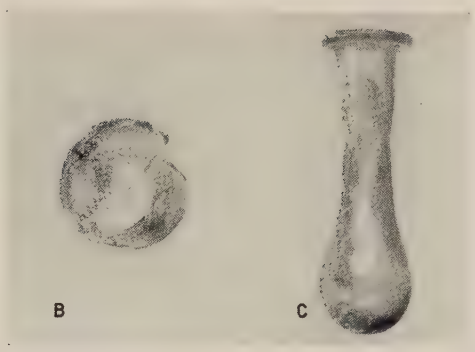
a–c. Sphagion, Cyprus, Tomb 17: Nos. 1, 3, and Dromos 1 (pp. 24, 27). *d.* Nicholson Museum, probably from Cyprus (p. 27)

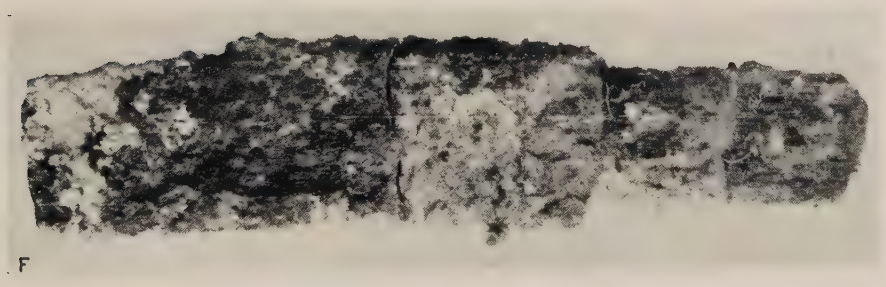
SPHAGION, CYPRUS, TOMB 19 (p. 32): *a* (*above, left*). No. 1; *b* (*above, right*). No. 7; *c* (*below*). No. 4



SPHAGION, CYPRUS

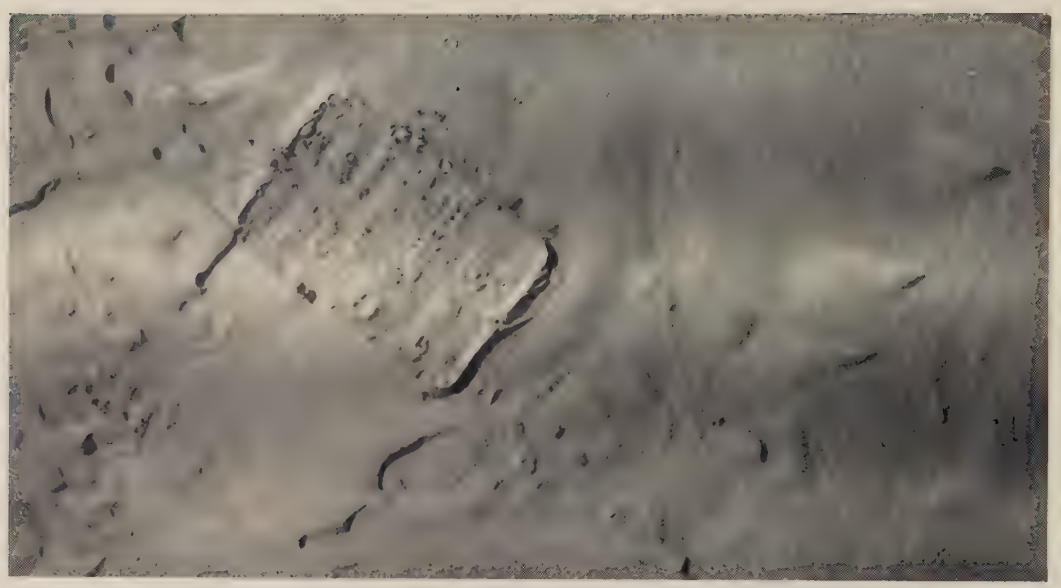
a–b. TOMB 19 (p. 32): *a*, No. 2; *b*, No. 6, *c*, TOMB 20 (p. 36), No. 1





SPHAGION, CYPRUS

a–c. TOMB 17 (pp. 26–7)
d–f. TOMB 19 (p. 32)



a. Bu Ngem (p. 58)
(*Royal Air Force*)

b. Gheria el-Garbia (p. 60)
(*Royal Air Force*)

a. Bu Ngem: the North Gate in 1819
(*Drawing by G. F. Lyon*)

b. Bu Ngem: the East Gate
(*Department of Antiquities*)

GHERIA EL-GARBIA: THE NORTH-EAST GATE (p. 62)

(14/20 *King's Hussars*)

(14/20 *King's Hussars*)

a

(*R. G. G.*)

b

(*R. G. G.*)

c

a. GHERIA EL-GARBIA, NORTH-EAST GATE: INTERIOR OF GATE-TOWER (p. 64)

b. GHERIA EL-GARBIA: NORTH ANGLE OF FORT WITH WINDOW OF INTERNAL TOWER (p. 64)

c. GHERIA ESH-SHERGIA: MASONRY OF NORTH-WEST CORNER (p. 62)

a. Gasr Hamed, from the South p. 96

c. Gasr Haiuna, from the South-east (p. 101

b. Gasr Hamed, Adjoining Huts

d. Gasr Haiuna, Arched Stairway

(*D. Oates*)

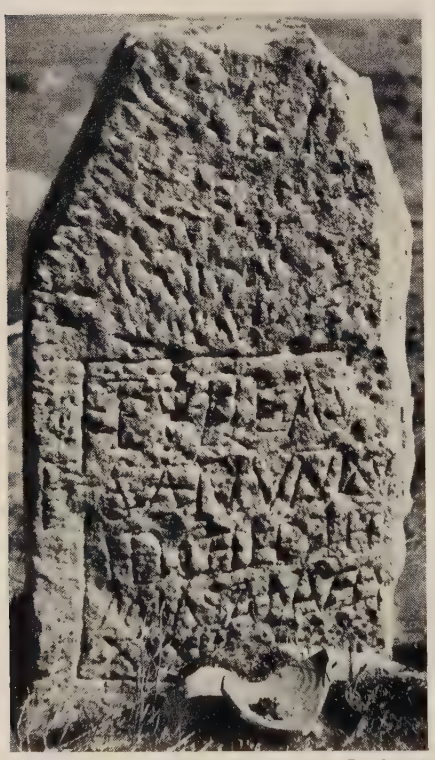
PLATE XIV

a. GASR MAAMURA, FROM THE NORTH-WEST (p. 107)
(*D. Oates, by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries*)

b. GASR MAAMURA, FROM THE EAST

(*D. Oates*)

a. Gasr Maamura, from the East p. 107



(*D. Oates*)

b. Wadi Uaeni, Libyan Tombstone (p. 115)

(*D. Oates*)

c. Gasr Maamura, Carved Bracket (p. 107)

(*J. B. Ward Perkins*)

d. Wadi Gsea, Inscribed Block (p. 113)

a. GHIRZA: CAMEL CARAVAN

b. MEZGURA, GEBEL NEFUSA: CAMEL PLOUGHING

(*A. De Liberali, Department of Antiquities*)

a. Henscir el-Ausaf, Tigi, Western Gefara: Ploughing Scene

b. Henscir el-Ausaf, Tigi: Wheat

(*D. Oates*)

THE GORGON PLAQUE AT SYRACUSE

1977 I
1978 II